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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2230



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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Activities of British Liberal Party Delegation (BTA, 5 Nov 83)	1
Tanchev Meeting	
Lukanov Meeting	
Zhivkov Addresses TU Peace Meeting (BTA, 27 Oct 83)	2
GDR Leaders Thank Bulgarian Leaders for Greetings (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 26 Oct 83)	6
BCP Daily on 'Brilliant' Andropov Collected Works (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 28 Oct 83)	7
Bozhinov Unveils Brezhnev Bust at Combine (Sofia Domestic Service, 2 Nov 83)	9
Briefs	
Leaders Greet Turkish Counterparts	10
Aleksandrov Receives Vienna Mayor	10
Talks With Romanian Foreign Ministry	10
Cuban Political General	10
Cooperation Protocol With Libya	11
Economic Protocol With CSSR	11
Tourism Association Established	11
Venezuelan CP Visitor	11
Vienna Mayor Gratz Visits	11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mission of CPCZ Political College Explained (Ladislav Novotny Interview; RUDE PRAVO, 22 Sep 83)	13
--	----

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Internal Security Role Seen for Workers Militia (Helmut Lelhoeffel; SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 17/18 Sep 83) ...	18
Search, Seizure Possible Without Due Process (Karl-Heinz Roehner; NEUE JUSTIZ, Vol 37 No 10, Oct 83) ..	22
Structure, Aims of Military Medicine Society Outlined (H. G. Trzopek; VOLKSARMEE, No 34, 1983)	25
West German Book on Council of Ministers Reviewed (Jens Hacker; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 5 Oct 83)	28
Review of Book by FRG Ex-Official With SED Background (Joachim Nawrocki; DIE ZEIT, 14 Oct 83)	31
Inner-German Athletic Contacts Improved (Herbert Fischer; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 10 Oct 83)	34

HUNGARY

Briefs

Czinege From Berlin	37
PCE, Bornau in Budapest	37
UK's Carrington Received	37
New Envoy to Guinea	37
Tetenyi Visits USSR	37

POLAND

Law Concerning Interior Ministry Clarified (Stanislaw Hoc; PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 37, 10 Sep 83)	39
Air Defense Commanders Discuss Activities, Organization, Efficiency (ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 37, 11 Sep 83; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 26 Sep 83)	43
National Air Defense Commander Antiaircraft Defense Commander by Tadeusz Obroniecki	

ROMANIA

Laws on Use of Nuclear Energy Examined (Stefan Alexandru Olariu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 17, 10 Sep 83)	52
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YUGOSLAVIA

Muhic Denounces Book Questioning One-Party System (Fuad Muhic; DANAS, 27 Sep 83)	57
Discussion of Protests by Slovenian Writers Society (Bozana Rublek; DANAS, 27 Sep 83)	66

ACTIVITIES OF BRITISH LIBERAL PARTY DELEGATION

Tanchev Meeting

AU051328 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 5 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received the visiting delegation of the Liberal Party of Britain, led by Lord McKee of Banshy [spelling as received], chairman of the party in Scotland, member of the House of Lords and speaker for the party on the agricultural issues at the House of Lords.

In the course of the talks stressed was the mutual striving for advancing the contacts between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Liberal Party of Britain.

It was underlined that detente and disarmament are the only sensible alternative to the threat of a nuclear war, for the saving of mankind.

Lukanov Meeting

AU051901 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT 5 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)--Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, today received the head of the delegation of the Liberal Party of Britain, Lord McKee of Banshy, chairman of the party in Scotland, member of the House of Lords and speaker of the party on the agricultural problems in the House of Lords. The British delegation is on visit here at the invitation of the Standing Commission of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.

The meeting proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

CSO: 2200/24

ZHIVKOV ADDRESSES TU PEACE MEETING

AU271746 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 27 Oct 83

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Oct (BTA)--"The significance of the "peace and trade unions" meeting in Sofia is in the fact that trade unions from all the continents are represented in it. The workers can win and are winning only if they are organized and united", said Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, today.

In a speech before the international trade union meeting here he underlined that the preservation and consolidation of peace depends to the greatest extent on the destiny, well-being and existence of the whole mankind.

"We can and should speak of peace now in the universal, class and political aspects. We can speak of and regard peace as a strategy for action and struggle", stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov.

"If a war explodes now", he went on further, "mankind will be unable to survive it. It will be the end of the human species and human civilization. The nuclear war will not distinguish between social systems and classes, between warring and unwarring. It will spare no one and nothing. It is completely clear for everybody now that there is no other alternative to peace but a total catastrophe.

The Bulgarian leader noted that mankind will be able to tackle the global problems only if free from the burden of the monstrous military outlays.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that mankind needs a lasting and just peace, built on the principles of equality and sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage from international contacts.

Only under the conditions of peace and peaceful cooperation democracy can develop and strengthen, the human rights and the democratic freedoms of the people can develop, underlined he.

"In our time it is possible to solve the international problems in a peaceful way. In our time it is necessary to have peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems", said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

He stressed that the international situation has deteriorated sharply. Certain reactionary forces have begun to stake on the policy "from the position of force", to force up their military readiness for its realization. The class reasons, class nature and class targets of militarism are obvious.

The Bulgarian leader noted that in pursuance of self-interested ends the military grouping of the capital and the military-industrial complex don't (?stop) now at any moral or legal obstacles.

"In our epoch the attitude toward war and peace is the most direct manifestation of the struggle between the labor and the capital on the international arena", said Mr Todor Zhivkov. The Bulgarian state leader underlined that the stepping-up of militarism is substantiated by the qualitatively new phenomena in the general crisis of capitalism. The anti-crisis strategy of capitalism, as the objective facts are showing, it staking, above all, on the arms race.

We also have difficulties connected with the raw material and energy crisis. We are part of the world, of the world economy and trade and all developments there invariably affect us. That is why we cannot stay indifferent to any attempts at getting out of the crisis by developing further the military-industrial complex and by increasing its profits to the detriment of millions of working people, added Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined that in the various strata of capitalist bourgeoisie one should distinguish clearly those, who are standing for violence in international relations, and those who are taking a realistic stand on the question of peace and war, those who stand for the advancement of international cooperation.

"The dispute between the two international systems can and should be held under the conditions of world peace, of peaceful coexistence and emulation between the states with different social systems", said he.

The political meaning of peace now, the Bulgarian leader said further, is in the strict observance of the principles of equality and equal security. The military-strategical balance and, above all, that between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, is the basis of equality and equal security.

Our striving for parity proceeds from the essence of our military strategy, which is a defensive strategy, but excludes foreign military superiority. Parity for us is an objective conditions for equitable talks.

Stressing that the socialist community countries have repeatedly proved that they are not striving after unilateral military superiority, Mr Todor Zhivkov recalled their numerous peace initiatives.

"The interview with Mr Yuriy Andropov yesterday once again reaffirmed the constructive and businesslike position of the Soviet Union for the advancement of the Geneva talks on limitation of the medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe", said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

We, said Mr Todor Zhivkov, have stretched a hand and wish it to be taken. Unfortunately, this readiness on our part is not reciprocated. Instead of a clear answer to our initiatives, there are constant attempts at passing them over in silence on rejecting them.

Dwelling on the attempts of the bourgeois propaganda machine to accuse the socialist community of kindling out a new round in the arms race, he underlined in particular the absurdity of the statement of an alleged unilateral violation of the military strategical parity by a partial replacement of missiles of the older systems with the so-called SS-20 missiles.

Speaking of the dynamic structure of the military-strategical balance, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: "We stand for a freeze-out and then for reduction of the arms-- nuclear and conventional, for decrease of the funds for weaponry. We stand for parity on increasingly lower level and quality of armaments".

Mr Todor Zhivkov noted that certain imperialist forces are waging an unprecedented ideological and psychological war against socialism, and are pursuing a policy of discrimination in the economic and trade relations with the socialist countries.

The objective approach, Mr Todor Zhivkov continued, is showing how wrong it is to lay the responsibility for the increase of tension on "both sides" simultaneously, to speak of "Soviet menace" and equal responsibility of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that great anxiety has been caused by the actions aimed at deploying the new American missiles in Western Europe by the end of this year. "The new American missiles in Europe are a weapon for socialism's nuclear punishment. They have a medium-range but they have a much wider political range of impact, because with these missiles they are pursuing global political aims. The new American missiles are a real means of inflicting surprising and overtaking first nuclear strikes", he said.

He noted that the deployment of the missiles will be used also for exerting a political pressure to revise the territorial and political realities in Europe after the Second World War. The new American missiles are aimed also against the vital interests of the Western European peoples themselves.

The Bulgarian party leader and head of state stressed that under the current circumstances thus created, the socialist countries are being actually forced to adopt the necessary return measures for strengthening their own defence. The retaliating measures will require additional costs which cannot but affect the plans of the socioeconomic development, but there is no other way to maintain the existing parity in armaments.

"Peace can and must be preserved and strengthened", said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

He stressed that a world thermonuclear war is not fatally unavoidable, because it is a common knowledge that it will be perilous for the whole mankind.

Stressing the advantages of detente, Mr Todor Zhivkov highly assessed the realistic and constructive position of a number of prominent figures of the West European socialist and social democratic parties and, in some cases, of the parties themselves.

He noted the unprecedented scope of the antiwar, antimissile movement in which the representatives of all the classes and social groups take part.

The Bulgarian leader stated that some particularly favorable possibilities now exist for creating a wider front of peace, of the antiwar forces and factors. This front can include people of all classes and social groups, of all social movements and organizations.

"Peace can be saved. This calls for the collective efforts and goodwill of all nations and countries, of all parties, organizations and movements, of all people. The working class is assigned a historical role and historical responsibility in the struggle for peace", underlined he.

The command of life calls for getting above the differences and prejudices, for seeing our common interests and responsibilities, for seeing that the necessity of unification and unity of action in the name of peace and for its saving stands above everything. There are possibilities for this.

CSO: 2200/24

BULGARIA

GDR LEADERS THANK BULGARIAN LEADERS FOR GREETINGS

AU271030 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers, the GDR people, and on our personal behalf, we express our most cordial gratitude on the greetings addressed to us on GDR's 34th anniversary.

We share your opinion that the friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples, which received a new impetus following the official and friendly visit to a Bulgarian party-state delegation to the GDR in June of this year, will continue to develop and strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance of 14 September 1977.

We wish the communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria new and great successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress for the benefit of the Bulgarian people and in the interest of peace and socialism. To you personally, Dear Comrades, we wish health and creative power in your highly responsible activity.

CSO: 2200/24

BCP DAILY ON 'BRILLIANT' ANDROPOV COLLECTED WORKS

AU030758 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 28 October carries on pages 1 and 3 an unattributed book review on the Bulgarian edition of Yuriy Andropov's "Selected Speeches and Articles" published by the Bulgarian Partizdat Publishing House under the headline: "Examples of a Creative Approach to the Problems of Our Time."

The review describes the book as one of the "most brilliant publications of political literature today and proceeds to describe the speeches and articles dating back to different epochs of Andropov's life and activities. The article praises Andropov as "a thinker, revolutionary, a party and state leader with purpose-oriented spirit and activities, one of the most worthy continuers of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's historical achievements."

The review points out that the editors of the book have committed one "slight deviation" from the chronological order of speeches and articles by placing Andropov's report to the festive party and state meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the USSR at the beginning of the book, but adds that this is fully justified taking into account the importance of the subject.

The review further deals in detail with Andropov's article in KOMMUNIST on Karl Marx, with his speech to the workers in the Ordzhonikidze plant, and with his speeches to the 1982 November and the 1983 June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, mostly dealing with Soviet domestic problems. The review stresses the "class approach with which the problems of the succession of generations, the lofty moral qualities and virtues of the citizens of socialist society" are treated in Andropov's works.

The review also devotes space to Andropov's statements and declarations on international issues and on present international affairs contained in the collection. The review cites Andropov's declaration published on 28 September 1983 on relations with the United States and on questions of the threat of thermonuclear war. In this connection the review praises the style of the declaration as "moderate, analytical, and calm, reflecting a spirit of wisdom,

as well as a statesmanlike approach." Despite "the troubled international atmosphere in which the declaration was conceived," the author of the review states, Andropov's declaration "sounds optimistic." The review cites the last lines of this declaration, which are also the last lines of the entire book, namely that "the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to protect peace on earth."

In this connection the review closes with the following remark: "These are the most characteristic features of the selected works. They once more reveal the reason for the tremendous respect enjoyed by the first leader of the CPSU and of the Soviet state in his country and in the fraternal socialist countries, as well as throughout the world."

CSO: 2200/24

BULGARIA

BOZHINOV UNVEILS BREZHNEV BUST AT COMBINE

AU021220 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Nov 83

[Text] A meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Leonid Brezhnev economic metallurgical combine was held at the combine this morning. Comrade Todor Bozhinov and Chudomir Aleksandrov attended the meeting.

Comrade Todor Bozhinov unveiled a bust of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, a patron of the combine, and said: [Begin Bozhinov recording] "May this name with which the Kremikovtsi metallurgical combine is honored be a symbol of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship! May it also be an impetus for further working successes and may it be an incentive for further developing the friendship between the two peoples, the friendship between the two parties! Congratulations on this bust." [applause] [end recording]

In his speech to the meeting, Angel Mitkov, hero of socialist labor, emphasized the following: [Begin Mitkov recording] We, the metallurgists, will spare no effort or skill in the struggle for better quality of production up to the end of 1983 as well as for the defense of peace and for the worthy commemoration of the national party conference. We will bear the name of our patron with honor." [end recording]

CSO: 2200/24

BRIEFS

LEADERS GREET TURKISH COUNTERPARTS--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey, on the occasion of the national holiday of the country and on the occasion of 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic. Most sincere greetings and wishes are expressed in the telegram for the Turkish people's well-being. Confidence is expressed that the good neighborly relations between the two countries and their cooperation in various fields will continue even more successfully to develop to the benefit of both the Turkish and Bulgarian peoples, in the interest of peace and security in the Balkans, as well as throughout Europe. On the same occasion Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent a telegram to Bulent Ulusu, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, expressing the most sincere congratulations and best wishes for the neighboring Turkish people's prosperity. [Text] [AU021140 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 83 p 1]

ALEKSANDROV RECEIVES VIENNA MAYOR--On 1 November Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, received Leopold Gratz, mayor of Vienna and deputy chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party. The meeting was attended by Petur Mezhdurechki, chairman of the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee. [Text] [AU011611 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 83]

TALKS WITH ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY--Bucharest, 6 Oct (BTA)--The consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Romania on questions concerning the situation in the Balkans ended here today. At the consultations the two delegations stressed the support of their governments to the idea of converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons and expressed their determination to jointly work for the realization of this idea, in the interest of peace and security in this region of the European Continent. [Text] AU061951 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 6 Nov 83]

CUBAN POLITICAL GENERAL--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received General Batista Sixto (Sanatana), candidate member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the Central Political Directorate of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces. In a friendly talk they discussed questions of mutual interest. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, as well as Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, chief of the Bulgarian Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy minister of national defense, attended the meeting. [Text] [AU041443 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 4 Nov 83]

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH LIBYA--Tripoli, 4 Nov (BTA)--The 14th session of the Bulgaro-Libyan economic and techno-scientific cooperation committee, ended. Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria, was the head of the Bulgarian delegation. The head of the Libyan part was Mr Abu Zayd Durdah, secretary of agriculture and the agrarian reform of the General Popular Committee of Libya. The protocol, signed, plans extending, deepening and raising the efficiency of the cooperation, industry, transport, science and technology and an increase in trade. During his visit there, Minister Khristo Khristov had meetings and talks with one of the leaders of the First of September Libyan Revolution, Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, with the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Libya, General Abu Bakr Jabri and with other Libyan top officials. [Text] [AU040922 Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT 4 Nov 83]

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL WITH CSSR--Prague, 4 Nov (BTA corr)--The 23d session of the Bulgaro-Czechoslovak economic and techno-scientific cooperation committee ended last night with the signing of a protocol. The co-chairmen of the committee, Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers and Mr Ladislav Gerle, deputy head of Czechoslovakia's Government, emphasized that the specific decisions included in the protocol signed would contribute to the consistent fulfillment of the tasks Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia were faced with in the sphere of reciprocal economic and techno-scientific cooperation. Measures have been outlined for improving the two-way interaction first of the parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is due to be held in Sofia in the first half of November. [as received] [Text] [AU040920 Sofia BTA in English 0819 GMT 4 Nov 83]

TOURISM ASSOCIATION ESTABLISHED--On 21 October a quality new system of developing tourism and leisure was established. It corresponds with the needs of the present stage of constructing developed socialism in our country. A Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Leisure was established as a public-state organ of the Council of Ministers. It will conduct a uniform state policy in the area of tourism in our country. Luchezar Avramov was elected chairman of the Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Leisure. [Excerpt] [AU261743 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 83 p 6]

VENEZUELAN CP VISITOR--Comrade Dimitur Stanishev has received (Americo Nunis), member of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee and editor in chief of the party's organ TRIBUNA POPULAR daily. [Text] [AU261743 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Oct 83]

VIENNA MAYOR GRATZ VISITS--Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)--Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Leopold Gratz, Vienna's mayor, member of the Presidium and vice-chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria, who is on a visit to Bulgaria. During the meeting views were exchanged on questions of mutual interest. There was expressed deep concern over the stepped up tension in the world and the necessity of continuing the efforts made to preserve peace, to preserve and continue the process of detente and to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe. Satisfaction was expressed with the closeness of views on the cardinal international matters of our time, as well as with the positive role Bulgaria and Austria play in the contemporary international relations. The active development of bilateral cooperation between

the two countries in all spheres and the contribution of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Austria to this development was underlined. Both parties' common wish for cooperating in the future, too, for its further extending and deepening, was expressed. The meeting, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Mr Peter Mezhdurechki, member of the CC of the BDP and chairman of the People's Council of the capital. [Text]
[AU032014 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 3 Nov 83]

CSO: 2200/24

MISSION OF CPCZ POLITICAL COLLEGE EXPLAINED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with CPCZ Political College rector Ladislav Novotny by Jaroslav Mazal: "Education Must Be Up To Date"]

[Text] This fall we shall celebrate the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the CPCZ Central Committee Political College, which is an important pedagogical-educational and scientific center of our communist party. Its key mission is the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres for the needs of party, state and mass organs and organizations, active participation in development of social sciences and establishing closer ties between the party policy and society's needs. We discussed the present tasks and future plans of the CPCZ Political College with its rector, Comrade Ladislav Novotny.

[Question] On what does the educational process in the college concentrate and to which questions is increased attention being paid?

[Answer] The curricula are so organized as to enable the students to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to acquire the maximum knowledge of theory and practice of the developed socialist society and profound understanding of party policy, to adopt the Leninist style of work in the solution of problems of the developed socialist society. The students are led to acquire, on the basis of the study of classics of Marxism-Leninism, party documents and other materials, a scientific world view and to get acquainted with the findings and methods used in those sectors of social sciences which are indispensable from the standpoint of party policy. The goal of instruction is also to promote habits of systematic independent study and the skill to apply the acquired theoretical knowledge in dealing with the tasks of party policy. For this reason, the interdisciplinary instruction has been expanded--we try effectively to combine theoretical instruction with political practice, to augment students' knowledge in the key areas of development, such as party control over the economy, ideology and culture, political-organizational and mass political work of the party, strengthening of socialist statehood and development

of socialist democracy, formation and further development of socialist social consciousness, and so on. Instruction provides for thorough knowledge of CPCZ history, CPSU history and history of the international workers and communist movement. Together with the extensive instruction in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism and other subjects, this instruction forms the 3-year common basis of studies to which a 1-year specialization in the last school year is closely linked. This specialized instruction is carried out in three directions--party work in the area of ideology, party work in the area of party economic policy and party work in the area of management of society and state administration. Specialization aims at providing more thorough knowledge in the area of work to which the graduate will be assigned.

[Question] At the present time, the college trains students for practical party work during the second half of the 1980's and the 1990's, when our party will face new, more complex tasks. Which features in the profile of the school graduate should be in your opinion more pronounced?

[Answer] Among them will definitely continue to be adherence to the party line, a consistent Marxist-Leninist class approach to the solution of current problems of party policy. But also the courage to solve new complex problems, more consistency and personal discipline in the implementation of the party program and party resolutions, the ability to overcome difficulties, to win the workers over for the party policy. Due to the ongoing intensification of the ideological struggle by the propaganda agencies of capitalist countries, the graduates will be required to possess a more thorough knowledge than in the past of contemporary trends in bourgeois propaganda and the ability of effectively resisting ideological diversion. There are also higher demands on the knowledge of processes of socialist international integration, and thus also on the international education of students, their training for management of these complex processes. The same is true of the knowledge of results of basic research and of the methods of linking scientific-technological revolution to the socialist economic system. To put it in a nutshell: the graduate of the Political College must be trained in every possible way and qualified for management in individual sectors of the party and society. He must be able to orient himself in time and correctly in social processes, must have a sense for the new and know how to view the problems in perspective and to solve them in a creative way. The requirement of comprehensiveness is significantly reflected today also in the instruction of students, in the development of comprehensive political science at our school.

Initiative, independence, the art of assuming personal responsibility and fighting resolutely, when the interest and needs of socialism are at stake, are becoming increasingly important. All these are qualities which the school must help students acquire.

[Question] The college training could not be successful without proper basic research. It is no secret that basic research has not yet produced the expected desirable effect particularly in the area of social sciences.

[Answer] We will surely agree that the party will justly expect our social-scientific front to clarify the key questions of economic, scientific-technological, social, political and cultural life of our society, the urgent problems of real socialism in the worldwide revolutionary process, in the international communist and workers movement, but also-- particularly today--to fight more offensively against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, opportunism, anticommunism, against the aggressive plans of militant imperialist reaction. The social sciences should contribute much more to political education and ideological work, to the development of the personality of the socialist man, to the formation of workers' socialist consciousness. We face complex tasks in all areas of material and spiritual activity. Most of the projects of the state plan of basic research are to be completed during this and the next year. We shall see to it that individual research teams put their concentrated effort in to completing these projects with responsibility. We expect them to augment party knowledge and to contribute to the further increase in the capability of its organs to implement most successfully the specified party line in all areas of life. If these tasks are to be properly fulfilled, we must effectively combat the superficial, simplified, abstract-- that is, academic--handling of individual issues, fight against compilation, achieve a high theoretical, ideological and party level in our approach to individual problems and see to it that their solution is closely linked to practice. For this purpose it is necessary to create a creative and critical atmosphere in individual research teams, particularly by organizing comradely discussions with the participation of students and workers from practice, particularly from the CPCZ Central Committee, central agencies, state institutions of higher learning and scientific institutes. Only a few such creative discussions have taken place so far. The workers at the CPCZ Central Committee Political College and its branch in Bratislava are not and cannot be indifferent to the situation in social sciences. They know that they bear a great responsibility to the party and its committee for increasing their ideological-theoretical and party standards.

[Question] If the CPCZ Central Committee Political College is to successfully perform tasks assigned to it not only in the teaching-educational process, but also in research in the area of social sciences, it must expand its cooperation with other centers more intensively.

[Answer] We are fully aware of the fact that our school could not successfully perform tasks in basic research, if it would not make maximum use of cooperation with the party schools and academies of the socialist community, particularly with the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee. As is known, Marxist-Leninist theory is intensively developing in the USSR and it is our duty to get acquainted with its achievements and enrich with them the basic research and educational process at our school.

We are also preparing scientific conferences including international ones, creative theoretical discussions, a number of international monographs and symposia as an expression of increasing cooperation with fraternal centers of socialist countries.

We can, I think, justly state that the CPCZ Central Committee Political College and its branch in Bratislava have experienced party collectives in the departments at the present time. This creates the basic precondition for successfully coping with other challenging tasks in the implementation of the 16th CPCZ Congress and Central Committee resolutions.

If we emphasize the qualitative aspect of the party's leading role today, then it means also for us the primary emphasis on the improvement of school work, on better training of graduates and their ability to perform their tasks as well as possible, to penetrate into the problems which the party organs deal with, to decide with the maximum possible knowledge on matters involved, on the basis of scientific knowledge, serious analyses and objective information.

[Question] We are discussing the increase in the significance of the subjective factor. How is this fact reflected in the study programs?

[Answer] We can characterize it very simply: this increasing role of the subjective factor must not lead to subjectivism, but must be based on the profound knowledge of laws governing the objective processes, on the knowledge of laws of the development of socialism. And here also lies the basis of high demands on the pedagogical work of the school. We therefore attach great importance to the consistent fulfillment of the state plan of basic research for the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We believe that our school will perform honorably also in this task. This is very important because errors in people's work, in management in particular (and political work is in its principal aspects managerial work) ensue largely from the underestimation of a scientific approach to the problems. If we namely speak of the objective necessity of improving management, we actually speak of cadres because training, ability, qualification of cadres and the standard of management constitute a unity--joined vessels.

Problems which we have not faced so far and which will have to be solved arise and will arise also in the future in the work of our party. "Blank spots" appear on the map of our work. With the immense potential of our science, technology, people's initiative and utilization of reserves which we have, however, we can examine, analyze and, on the basis of present-day knowledge, also successfully solve the problems hitherto unknown and unresolved. For this reason, we emphasise the well-known thesis that the most important role of the Political College is the purposeful training of party cadres for prospective long-term tasks. He who manages, and wants to do it better, must know not only his narrow field of action. Part of management is also the ability to organize work, to control it, to know how to treat people, how to captivate them by exemplary personal behavior. Talent and self-sacrifice, diligence and knowledge, a critical attitude toward oneself and others--this is the profile of professional and political qualification of the managerial worker, of the communist in a responsible position at each level of management. And this is also the requirement of the basic profile of the graduate and pedagogue of the CPCZ Central Committee Political College.

[Question] The increased role of the subjective factor in the process of building of a developed socialist society cannot, of course, be applied only to the improvement of work of our party, although this is obviously the fundamental question. In our system, where the people are the active formulator of policy, the political maturity, initiative and man's activity are the decisive factor in the development of the society.

[Answer] The 16th CPCZ Congress and the 15th Plenary Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1980 drew attention to the fact that one of the basic conditions of this activity was the ideologically political unity of all people and that its precondition was the ideological unity of the party. In a broader context, the same conclusion was reached by the CPSU Central Committee in June 1983. The objective necessity of further improving the ideological work is the order of the day. This is so not only for domestic, but also international reasons. We are living in the period of a fierce ideological struggle in which there is no reconciliation, in which our duty is to unmask bourgeois ideology and effectively, in a counteroffensive, to defend the advantages of the socialist social system. Our enemies cannot forgive us the defeat suffered in February 1948. They cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the hopes and intentions which they had put into the antisocialist and rightist forces striving for the elimination of the socialist system in the CSSR did not materialize. "With confidence we are marching along the time-tested road of further building the socialist society," said Comrade Gustav Husak at the 1 May manifestation this year, "which was laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress. In firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, in unity with the countries of the socialist community we shall do our utmost for the further flowering of our socialist fatherland, a happy and peaceful life for all people." Our victory in this struggle is inevitable, but we are not fatalists. The entire history of our party, and the building of socialism have confirmed the well-known Marxist-Leninist principle that ideas become a material force when they get hold of the masses, when the workers convince themselves of their truthfulness on the basis of their own experiences. Also in this respect our school, as the party and its Central Committee expect, wants to base its future activity on the good results achieved in the past, and to further improve, expand and intensify its pedagogical and scientific activity.

10501

CSO: 2400/15

INTERNAL SECURITY ROLE SEEN FOR WORKERS MILITIA

Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 17/18 Sep 83 p 11

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member of the editorial staff: "Baptism of Fire during the Construction of the Wall; 30 Years Ago in the GDR 'Enterprise Workers Militias' Were Formed; The Paramilitary Units Are to Preserve the Internal Security of the State"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR, 16 September--On 24 September at least 50,000 men in green-grey uniforms, decorated with orders and medals and holding their submachine guns obliquely in front of their chests, will be marching along the East Berlin Karl Marx Allee. SED Secretary General Erich Honecker, the supreme master of the "Militia of the Working Class," will on the occasion of this "call to arms" deliver a speech and will then review the parade of the "militia comrades." The SED considers these militia groups, which were set up in the summer of 1953, to be the "direct armed organ of the working class," i.e., of the party, and an "effective and unshakeable force of the workers and farmers' power in the GDR." In the West varying assessments are made of the worth of these paramilitary formations, which are estimated to have a regular membership of from 350,000 to 400,000 men.

Bundestag delegate Hans Graf Huyn called the militia groups "Honecker's Waffen SS." His CDU companion Wilfried Boehm spoke of a "civil-war army of the SED" and demanded that it be included in the calculations of the Vienna negotiations on troop reductions. Former SPD faction chief Herbert Wehner deprecatorily referred to the "militiamen" of the GDR as "those felt-slipper slouches."

Reservists of the People's Army

Whereas Count Huyn engaged in excessive exaggeration with his vindictive heckling, Wehner's remark detracted from the military significance of these militia groups. Of course, their inclusion in the calculations of the Vienna negotiations on troop reductions would not be justified and is out of the question. For the calculation criteria applicable in Vienna include only "soldiers who are continually and exclusively carrying out military duties and wearing uniforms."

Occasionally the SED militia members are referred to as "semisoldiers." This is correct to the extent that they are all reservists of the National People's

Army, trained in the use of weapons, rapidly mobilizeable and ready for duty at any time. But, as Western military experts know, they have "no military significance at all with respect to tactical offensive operations," but they can at best "have a conditionally relieving effect in the overall defense of the GDR." More applicable are such terms as "party soldiers" or "enterprise militia."

In 1979 Honecker made the following statement: "The class enemy hates the militia of the GDR. This does not bother us. He is afraid of it. That is good. He should be." It is also not possible to note any aggressive intentions in this statement. The mission of the militia clearly has regional relevance and is restricted to safeguarding the interior of the GDR. After the worker disturbances of 17 June 1953, which the SED--much to the chagrin of Moscow--had to face impotently, the Soviet leadership, which had employed its tanks, demanded that the GDR government take measures to prevent such happenings in the future. Thereupon "workers' defense units" consisting of convinced Communists were formed for the time being. In September 1953 the term "Betriebskampfgruppen" [enterprise militia] appeared for the first time and, subsequently, the name "Kampfgruppen" [militia] prevailed.

In the beginning, militia members appeared dressed in blue mechanic's outfits with black belts. On their left arms they wore red bands. From this nucleus a paramilitary formation was steadfastly built up in the following years. The uniform, a battle dress, is green-grey, and the left sleeve is resplendent with the black-red-gold bordered insignia: a strong arm holding a gun with a red flag. To it belongs a cap with ear protectors which can be turned up, a steel helmet and boots. Formally, the militia is subordinated to the People's Police. Its chief is Maj Gen Wolfgang Krapp, department chief in the GDR Ministry of the Interior. But its political guidance and organizational control is carried out by the Security Section of the SED Central Committee, which is headed by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe. The formations, which are arranged regionally and according to enterprises (platoons, companies, battalions), are subordinate to the SED Kreis management boards, the first secretaries of which have command authority in cases of their employment.

Not All Are Party Members

In an interview, Central Committee member Scheibe named the qualities demanded from a militia member as follows: "Willpower, adherence to principles, operational readiness, physical and moral strength, sense of responsibility, fortitude, iron discipline, alertness and, last but not least, military skills." He said that the building up of the militia formations alongside the already existing "protective and security organs" (i.e. the army, police and the national security ministry) had been "the result of a scientifically founded analysis of the existing class struggle situation."

Up until 1960, almost only SED members and FDJ functionaries were admitted to the militia units. Added to these were some men who were considered to be particularly dependable. The militia members were given their "baptism of fire" on 13 August 1961, when the Berlin Wall was built, and during the troubled days following that event. On the occasion of their employment "for

the protection of the national border against a fascist surprise attack," as they called it, the militia units proved themselves to be dependable and stable. At least 15,000 militia personnel were employed in and around Berlin. Only eight of them deserted to the West. "The SED's concept of a party army had proved to be a correct one. The disgrace of June 17 had been wiped out and it was possible to point out to the Soviets the fact that one now was in a position to solve crimes under one's own power," it is stated in a brochure of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn on the subject of "The Paramilitary Formations of the GDR."

Soon after the construction of the Wall, when the GDR was becoming stabilized, people who were not party members were also recruited into the militia units to an increasing extent. In this connection, however, attention is to this day being paid to seeing to it that "a high and stable proportion of members of our party in all units" be ensured, as was recently emphasized by Heinz Leube, a section chief in the SED Central Committee. The share of organized Communists among the militia members amounts to between 80 and 90 percent. Accordingly, approximately every fourth male SED member is in a militia unit.

One of them is Manfred Kirchmeier. He has been a member since 1956, belongs to the militia Hundertschaft [100-man company] of the Magdeburg Bezirk labor union executive board and will be marching in the 30th anniversary parade. "My membership in the militia units has always played an important part in my life, but it has also cost me much of my leisure time, which I have spent gladly for the most important cause in the world, the preservation of peace," Kirchmeier is quoted as having said. And, as a matter of fact, extensive use is made of the active members' free time for instruction sessions, educational courses, training and exercises. Due to this continuous burden, the interest of older militia members declines as the years pass on. The weekend maneuvers (four to five times a year) are, at any rate, not being taken too seriously. According to newspaper reports and articles in the journal DER KÄMPFER, what is being practiced is cross-country running and forced marches, the setting up of tents and the use of weapons. Concrete tasks include "encircling intruders," "rendering diversionists and saboteurs harmless" and "protecting socialist property."

Advantages to Be Gained through Membership

Frequently the exercises take place in cooperation with the National People's Army and sometimes also with troops of other Warsaw Pact states, with civilian protection groups and the German Red Cross of the GDR (including also women) as well as the Society for Sport and Technology, another paramilitary unit. It was possible to read in a recent LAUSITZER RUNDSCHAU that on such occasions "much sweat is flowing," and the mostly untrained militiamen are plagued by sore feet. Members of militia units can now and then be heard making comments to the effect that "not too much is demanded," that things are often "quite cozy" and that "it also is quite easy to goof off."

The enthusiasm is at any rate quite limited, although membership in the militia groups is considered by many to be proof of the government's confidence and that it offers a number of advantages. Thus there is a supplemental pension.

In cases of many years' membership it is entirely possible to get a 20-percent pension increase. In addition, there are awards of decorations, medals and orders, to which monetary bonuses are attached. And active militiamen are accorded priority when desirable vacation spots are allocated. "Service in the militia units is a high and honorable social task," said Honecker on the occasion of the 20th anniversary, and it is being appreciated accordingly.

In spite of deprecatory remarks and sneering jokes ("in our enterprise every comrade is a militia fighter--they all fight for their unsuitability certificate"), it would be a faulty assessment to present the "Militia Units of the Working Class" of the GDR as a formation of "felt-slipper slouches" or as a "leisure-time army." After all, the militia units are heavily armed with mortars, antitank guns and antiaircraft guns, and they have at their disposal the transport vehicles of the enterprises and the people's police. They also have their place in the military aspects of the GDR's national defense. But, as far as is known, in maneuvers they are exclusively assigned regionally delimited security tasks (protection of traffic installations, supply installations and important enterprises) and protection of facilities and installations against potential enemy troops. In most exercises airborne attacks were assumed to be carried out.

There is no proof that the militia groups have been prepared for any employment outside of the GDR nor even outside their own local territories. Their equipment and training are entirely unsuitable for offensive employment. The role to be played by them is therefore limited to the preservation of internal order. Thus the members of the militia groups in the industrial and agricultural enterprises are also intended to be impulse providers for production increases. In descriptions of exemplary "militiamen," which presently, in the period leading up to the 30th anniversary, may frequently be encountered, it is always emphasized that these men "are in their enterprises also positive factors in connection with the fulfillment of their economic tasks."

8272

CSO: 2300/36

SEARCH, SEIZURE POSSIBLE WITHOUT DUE PROCESS

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 37 No 10, Oct 83 pp 418-419

[Article by Dr. Karl-Heinz Roehner, Section for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena: "The Term 'Danger in Delay' and its Application in the Code of Criminal Procedure"]

[Text] To ensure the tasks of criminal procedure, the Code of Criminal Procedure grants encroachments on the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights of the citizens, especially in the case of suspects, indicted or accused, which in substance are criminal procedure safety measures. That Code (StPO) sets down precisely which of such measures are admissible under what sort of premises and who is authorized to pronounce them. In doing so, it repeatedly uses the concept of "danger in delay" (Articles 44 section 3; 109, section 1; 112; 125 section 2; 138 section 1 of StPO).

In view of being vaguely formulated and of the fact that the concept is not closely defined in the law, one must, in answering the question about its function and content, it seems to me, first proceed from the consideration that StPO is using this relatively indistinct concept to make it possible for the abstract law to be applied to the concrete circumstances of any given case and, with it, to heighten the applicability of the law on behalf of ensuring socialist legality--by comprehending the variety of conceivable specific cases. It meets the eye that StPO in general uses this concept where it is a matter of admitting exceptions to the rule. That holds true in two respects.

For one thing, StPO uses the concept "danger in delay" to delineate the competencies (authorities, authorizations) of the various criminal prosecution organs in their being entitled to order criminal procedure safety measures. For instance, according to Article 109 section 1 of StPO, the public prosecutor is authorized to head investigative procedures in ordering search and seizure for them. Only when the preconditions amount to "danger in delay" can the investigative organ itself order such criminal procedure safety measures. StPO employs the concept "danger in delay" in an identical sense in Articles 44 section 3 and 138 section 1 (frisking and searching).

Then also StPO still knows another meaning of the concept "danger in delay," where the use of criminal procedure safety measures is to be admitted above and beyond the in general legally limited degree of encroachment. This then amounts to expanding the field of application for the criminal procedure safety measures itself.

According to Article 112 of StPO, for instance, when there is "danger in delay," apartments and other enclosed premises may also be searched between 2100 and 0600 hours, which extends search beyond the otherwise legally confined measure into nighttime.

An extended application also is found in the case of provisional arrest. According to Article 125 section 2 of StPO, the investigative organ and the public prosecutor, under the conditions of "danger in delay," are entitled to order provisional arrest (above and beyond cases of provisional arrest when a suspect is caught in the act, as of Article 125 section 1 of StPO) even when there is a warrant of arrest.¹ The general right to provisional arrest, to which any citizen is entitled as to Article 125 section 1 of StPO, is expanded in Article 125 section 2 of StPO under the aspect of the exclusive competency of the investigative organ and the public prosecutor to cases where the immediate connection with a crime committed has been severed.²

Yet "danger in delay" in terms of Article 125 section 2 of StPO must certainly not be understood as a competency arrangement that would pass on to the investigative organ or the public prosecutor the judges' competency in ordering arrests as to Article 124 section 1 of StPO. Provisional arrest as to Article 125 section 2 of StPO is neither an element nor a variant of arrest but an independent and exceptional type of deprivation of liberty under criminal procedure which--anticipating an arrest when there is "danger in delay"--is exercised by the competent organs when in their view, based on the prevailing state of investigation, premises are in place for an arrest warrant.³

From this diverse functional use made of the concept "danger in delay" there are bound to follow specifics that have to be taken into account in a substantive interpretation.

"Danger in delay" in the sense of delineating the competency of the investigative organ and the public prosecutor with respect to ordering criminal procedure safety measures applies when through delaying criminal procedure safety measures until an order is obtained from the competent public prosecutor their purpose or success would become dubious or the further course of the investigation procedure would be infringed. Such an assumption must not be due merely to subjective considerations or apprehensions on the part of the investigative organ but must be based on facts that will have to stand up to the public prosecutor's later investigation. Otherwise one would efface the delineation of competencies of investigative organs and the public prosecutor in ordering that sort of measures.

"Danger in delay" in this sense then is the possibility or likelihood, justified by facts, that the time delay incurred in obtaining a state prosecutor's warrant would frustrate the purpose or success of the measure. In this, the danger threatening the success or implementation of such safety measures can be determined only by means of the circumstances and given facts of a concrete particular case. A general criterion applying to all criminal procedure safety measures equally does not exist.⁴ Depending on the kind and purpose of the measure to be taken, the state of affairs may be such that a measure must be taken immediately, on the spot, and without the slightest delay in time. When the public prosecutor is not present in such cases, the investigative organ may be entitled to order the warrant without having to try to contact the public

prosecutor. That could be the case, e.g., if the time delay needed to obtain the warrant from the competent public prosecutor would lead to the loss of traces because certain localities were cleaned up, rumors evaporate, liquids dry up and so forth.⁵ Yet if a delay of several hours or perhaps even of a day does not thwart, or place in doubt the success of, a criminal procedure safety measure, "danger in delay" does not apply.

If a public prosecutor in his own view of the case rejected the measure the investigating organ had regarded as necessary, the investigating organ itself cannot issue the measure with reference to "danger in delay." That follows from the position of the public prosecutor in investigative procedures. If he, as the head of a criminal investigative organ, does not deem a criminal procedure safety measure necessary for the further criminal investigation, the investigative organ cannot show a "danger in delay" for such a measure either.

"Danger in delay" in the sense of expanding the area of application for criminal procedure safety measures above and beyond the, in general, legally limited measure of encroachment does not relate--as do the cases above--to time delay that would occur through obtaining the proper warrant from the competent public prosecutor. It is implied directly in the kind and character of the criminal procedure safety measure allowing no time delay, lest its implementation, purpose or success be jeopardized.

If provisional arrest (Article 125 section 2 StPO) is to fulfil its purpose, in depriving the accused of escape, destroying evidence, warning accomplices and carrying on the criminal act,⁶ the investigative organ or the public prosecutor must not permit any time delay once the legal prerequisites are given. That applies equally to searching apartments or other enclosed premises at nighttime (Article 112 StPO), if there is a reasonable assumption that waiting until the next morning would place the success of the search in doubt.⁷

The reference to "danger in delay" must however also in case of provisional arrest and nighttime search be borne by facts which will make it possible or probable that a time delay in criminal procedure safety measures would jeopardize their implementation, purpose or success.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. R. Herrmann, "Preconditions for Provisional Arrest as to Article 125 Section 2 StPO," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK, 1978, No 4, p 62.
2. Cf. "StPO Lehrkommentar," Berlin, 1968, footnote 2 to Article 125, p 180.
3. R. Herrmann, op. cit., p 62.
4. On practicable criteria for ordering search and confiscation, cf. J. Troch, "Search and Seizure Warrants in Investigation Procedures," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1982, No 5, p 227.
5. Ibid.
6. "Strafverfahrensrecht, Lehrbuch" (Textbook on Criminal Procedure), Berlin, 1982, p 163.
7. Ibid., p. 199.

STRUCTURE, AIMS OF MILITARY MEDICINE SOCIETY OUTLINED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 34 1983 (signed to press 15 Aug 83) p 8

[Article by Col H.-G. Trzopek, MD: "Society for Military Medicine of the GDR: Tasks, Objectives and Structure"]

[Text] The medical support of the National People's Army and of the GDR border troops represents an important contribution to their operational and combat readiness and thus to our national defense. This presupposes a high level of medical-professional, military and political knowledge and skills on the part of all members of the medical service. Included in this, however, are also the colleagues of our state health system and of our university and medical school systems, since our national defense embodies a concern of our entire society. The tasks arising from this fact comprise a very broad area. It extends from determining fitness and aptitude for military service to measures to be taken for the medical care of all members of the military organs during the course of their responsible service and to the preparation for medical care of casualties and protection against mass destruction weapons in a situation of national defense. In this connection it is, in addition to treatment of incurred illnesses, necessary above all to carry through preventive health protection measures and to contribute to a healthy way of life. Within this framework, the members of the medical service exert their influence on food and housing sanitation, the shaping of training and protection against infectious diseases. The high level of their readiness to perform is given expression by the programs of numerous collectives in the sphere of socialist competition. Physical training, shaped in the best possible manner from the medical point of view, contributes to the enhancement of health, physical defensive strength and performance capability as do proper nutrition and the protection provided by vaccination. Beyond this, it is necessary to develop and convey the theoretical fundamental and practical skills necessary for the realization of all tasks.

Mastering these demanding scientific and practical requirements calls for steady improvement of military medical knowledge and skills. As is the case also in many other spheres of our state and of our national economy, exchanges of experience are the best investment in this respect as well.

Reasons for the Founding

In order to promote scientific research in the sphere of military medicine and in order to disseminate and rapidly to put to efficient, practical use the knowledge thus gained, the Society for Military Medicine in the GDR was founded on 15 February 1971, the eve of the 15th anniversary of the National People's Army.

It is the objective of this society to bring together all scientists and practitioners active in the sphere of military medicine or interested in the problems of military medicine. The main tasks deriving therefrom consist of the following:

- Cooperation in solving research tasks in the sphere of military medicine.
- Promotion of cooperation with other scientific bodies and medical science societies of the GDR and of other countries.
- Development of close relations with the social organizations, particularly with the GST [Society for Sport and Technology], the DRK [German Red Cross of the GDR] and the DTSB [German Gymnastics and Sports Federation].
- Cultivation of an extensive exchange of scientific experience among the members for the purpose of continually raising the level of this work in the interest of providing medical support for our national defense.
- Activation of the members in order to put new scientific findings into practice as speedily as possible.

Membership in the society is open to all physicians, dentists, pharmacists and other persons interested in military medicine with college and technical school training who acknowledge the society's statutes and who are willing to support the objectives of the society.

Upon joining this society, a member acquires the right to participate in all its events, to utilize for their own fields of work the knowledge conveyed to them on such occasions and to participate in the work of the organizations of our society. This involves a commitment to active cooperation for the purpose of solving the tasks of the society.

Structure and Activities

The directorate of the Society for Military Medicine in the GDR consists of a presidium to be newly elected every 4 years by a delegates' conference. It is fully subject to the principles of democratic centralism and must be accountable to the membership concerning the work performed by it. The primary share of the practical work is carried out in the 13 regional societies of the Society for Military Medicine, which comprise their respective Bezirk territories. Only the Erfurt, Gera, and Suhl Bezirke are combined in one regional society. The management boards of the regional societies are also elected democratically at regular intervals. In addition, by way of

supraregional groupings, there also exist some sections and permanent or temporary work groups for the purpose of working on certain technical problems.

The most important forms of activity are scientific meetings, educational development activities, scientific exhibits and practical demonstrations. In addition, there is a lively exchange of lecturers with other medical science societies and educational development institutions as well as with installations of the public health system and the university and technical school system. Very close cooperation was developed with the German Red Cross of the GDR, the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation and the Society for Sport and Technology.

The society has established an award in order to further scientific work. On the occasion of the delegate conference it is bestowed particularly on young scientists for outstanding scientific results achieved in the field of military medicine. For purposes of honoring special social activities, the society bestows a medal of honor.

One of the roots of the Society for Military Medicine is the old tradition by which physicians and other medically interested college and technical school cadres have gotten together in medical science societies. For this reason it also pays special attention to the development and culture of progressive traditions. In this connection, both the rich experiences gathered by the Soviet army and by the other fraternal armies and our appreciation of the wealth of outstanding medical ideas of great scientists and physicians such as Robert Koch and N. I. Pirogov are placed in the foreground.

The Society for Military Medicine of the GDR is a member with equal rights in the medical science societies of the GDR, joined together in the coordination council, and participates in all important activities of this body. In addition, it is an active participant within the framework of the International Committee for Military Medicine and Pharmacy (ICMMPO).

Thus the Society for Military Medicine of the GDR makes its contribution to the objective of strengthening the GDR and thus of safeguarding peace in the specific sphere of military medicine, in which endeavor it includes all college and technical school cadres interested in this task.

8272

CSO: 2300/32

WEST GERMAN BOOK ON COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Oct 83 p 10

Review by Jens Hacker, professor of political science and public law, University of Regensburg, of book "Der Ministerrat der DDR--Aufgaben, Arbeitsweise und Struktur der anderen deutschen Regierung" **The GDR Council of Ministers--Duties, Operations and Structure of the Other German Government** by Peter Joachim Lapp, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1982, 292 pages

Text With this study, which supplements his works "Der Staatsrat im politischen System der DDR" **The Council of State in the Political System of the GDR** (Opladen 1972) and "Die Volkskammer der DDR" **The People's Chamber of the GDR** (Opladen 1975), Peter Joachim Lapp has written the first political science monograph about the government of the GDR, called the Council of Ministers. The fact that the first special investigation of the "government of the GDR" has only appeared over 30 years after the declaration of the GDR on 7 Oct 1949 is to be attributed chiefly to the inadequacy of the materials.

The structures and functions of the Council of Ministers were subjected to far-reaching changes in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. The changing of government machinery, the formation and dissolution, reformation and amalgamation and the splitting apart of the top echelons of the ministerial bureaucracy were a down-right typical mark of the other nation in Germany. Lapp shows that a certain peace came about only in the 1970s; indubitably the state machinery of the GDR today has a greater measure of regularity and calculability, of solidity pure and simple. That shows on the one hand in the fact that almost all ministries got (new) statutes in the 1970s, on the other in the fact that the constitutionalists of the GDR and the SED finally succeeded in completing three important textbooks on public and administrative law, which Lapp has exploited: the textbook "Marxist-Leninist Theory of Law and the State" in 1975, the textbook "Public Law of the GDR" (1977) and finally in 1979 the textbook "Administrative Law." Moreover, Lapp has taken account of the laws about the Council of Ministers, the statutes of the individual ministries and for the first time, to a greater extent, the official "Rulings and Communications" of various GDR ministries. He does not neglect to point out that the important general directives--procedures--of the Council of Ministers and the statutes of some ministries have still not been published and are considered classified documents.

Lapp is primarily concerned with presenting the structure and function, the charge and manner of work, the how and why of the measures taken by the ministerial machinery of the GDR. Since the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), which stands at the head of the state in the GDR, makes its objectives generally binding with the help of the ministerial machinery, Lapp begins by sketching the unlimited leadership role of the SED. The actual and constitutional embodiment of the leading role of the SED in the state means clearly and unmistakably that the party has an unlimited monopoly of power at its disposal. Lapp makes the important point that the SED today makes no attempt to veil this fact. There is also no question that the SED regards the state as its "chief instrument" in the formation of society. Nevertheless the party does not restrict itself to using the state and its machinery when it wants to carry out the policies it considers right.

Very vividly Lapp describes the domestic formulation of objectives by the SED, which considers itself the "kernel and center" of the political organization of society. The "control station" which formulates the intraparty and domestic objectives of the GDR is the Politburo of the SED. Lapp comments, "The SED leads the state machinery organizationally, externally and internally; thus every formulation of objectives of the party can reach the state by two paths. The most important form of transmission may well be, however, the direct external guidance by the central party machinery, while the internal guidance is primarily of a supervisory nature."

Once the process of formulations of objectives in the Politburo is concluded, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the SED sees to its transmittal. For this it makes use of the full-time party machinery, which is subdivided according to departments and specialties. Each department of the Central Committee directly guides one or several areas of the state machinery, the ministerial bureaucracy. That is done almost exclusively by informal means: by oral or written directives, by hints from the department and section leaders in the Central Committee to their colleagues in the ministries and administrations. Many of the departments of the Central Committee of the SED are adapted to the structure of the state machinery, or even built up in direct analogy to the ministries of state. While the external guidance of the ministries takes place by way of the departments of the Central Committee, the internal guidance is practiced by way of the party organization of the SED in the machinery of state. Since the organizations of the bloc parties CDU, LDPD Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, NDPD National Democratic Party of Germany and DBD Democratic Peasant Party of Germany in the ministries had to be dissolved in 1952, today only the SED, the FDGB and the FDJ can still maintain groupings of their own in the administration of the state.

Assessing the extent to which the domestic formulation of the objectives of the SED can be influenced by ideas, criticism, contradiction and resistance by the ministerial bureaucracy is essentially beyond our ken--as Lapp emphasized. Lapp is well advised, in view of the complete inadequacy of sources on this central point, to refrain from any speculation.

With scrupulous accuracy Lapp has analyzed the structure and manner of work of the Council of Ministers as well as its relationship to the three other

central state organizations of the GDR: the People's Chamber, the Council of State and the National Defense Council. According to both GDR constitutions of 1949 and 1968, the administration is dependent on the People's Chamber: the highest representation of the people accepts the responsibility and accountability of the Council of Ministers. Here too Lapp has not lost sight of the constitutional reality: the People's Chamber is not the principal body, nor is the administration the agent of the People's Chamber. Both bodies receive their mandates from the SED party leadership.

Even though the government, that is, the Council of Ministers, is unequivocally subordinated to the People's Chamber according to the clear wording of the GDR Constitution, the People's Chamber cannot assert its extensive rights in practice, for the simple reason that it very seldom meets. Contrary to the text of the Constitution, the People's Chamber is downright dependent on the government. "It has to trust to the wisdom of the government when the latter sends it bills and other legal norms for passage which it itself can only treat in special proceedings." Although the People's Chamber is supposed to decide the basic questions of state policy, according to Article 48 of the GDR Constitution of 6 April 1968, in its plenary sessions, there is not even enough time to discuss the bills in the Plenum itself. Only the committees of the People's Chamber have any opportunity to look at bills at all closely, but as a rule even they concern themselves only with bills and can "deal" at most with these. Changes in content are no longer a practical possibility.

In this study with its wealth of material Peter Joachim Lapp has given us another important contribution to making the ruling machinery of the GDR with its still totalitarian constitution comprehensible. In view of the presentation of the GDR ministries in the second edition of the "GDR Handbook" published in 1979 by the Federal Ministry for Intra-German Relations--which is fragmentary and often even erroneous and which orients itself too much by the self-image of the GDR--Lapp's analysis, which deals with constitutional theory and practice in the GDR, represents an important contribution to the ongoing debate about the central question of what methodological criteria can best guide research on the GDR in the Federal Republic of Germany.

12428

CSO: 2300/28

REVIEW OF BOOK BY FRG EX-OFFICIAL WITH SED BACKGROUND

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 14 Oct 83 p 27

[Review entitled "Sense of the Attainable" by Joachim Nawrocki, political commentator, of book "Die fernen Nachbarn--Erfahrungen in der DDR" [The Distant Neighbors--Experiences in the GDR], by Klaus Boelling, Verlag Gruner & Jahr, 304 pages]

[Text] For a year and a half, from February 1981 to May 1982, Klaus Boelling was the permanent representative of the Federal Republic in the GDR. Unlike his predecessor, Guenter Gaus, he had brought personal ties and memories to the job. He was born in Potsdam and grew up in Berlin, his parents were persecuted by the National Socialists and from the end of the war until the fall of 1947 Boelling was a member of the KPD and later of the SED. During that period he encountered on several occasions a number of persons who are now influential SED officials, particularly Erich Honecker, and therefore was well known to them. This brought with it a proximity to the country and the people but also entailed a dissociation from--and, as Boelling himself says, "emotional distaste" for--a party which Boelling, disappointed and disillusioned, turned his back on in 1947. Gaus, from Hannover, approached his job less self-consciously, more openly and more trustingly.

These biographical conditions, among other things, account for the philosophical concepts of these two men, as well as for the differences between their books on the GDR, which have now been published almost simultaneously. To be sure, both observed the same things, but even there their reactions differed at times. It is not that one looks through rose-colored glasses while the other sees red, but the nuances are considerable. Boelling's book is quite solid; he primarily stays with the visible, tangible surface, without being superficial.

Boelling does voice some surmises--possibly more than mere surmises--about the way of thinking and character of the people he talked with in the GDR, but he avoids speculation, essayist's digressions and profound meditation and displays undisguised skepticism concerning the "intellectual efforts" of many an analyst of Germany policy. Boelling makes it clear how small, and in fact clearly circumscribed, the elbowroom of Germany policy is.

Thus, despite the short time Boelling spent in the GDR, an important book has been written about Germany policy, the GDR and, above all, its most important politicians--reflections about a brief chapter of German history centered around Federal Chancellor Schmidt's trip to the Werbellinsee. Of course memoirs and reminiscences are seldom a reliable source for historical research, but their very subjectivity makes them intriguing. After all, subjectivity does not mean one-sidedness. On the contrary, while openly admitting his distaste for the SED state, Boelling pleads for predictability, trust and rapprochement between the two German states within the limits of what is possible--and, for Boelling, that means not the limits of what is theoretically imaginable but the limits of what, the GDR leadership is prepared to go along with and of what it needs to take into account in terms of the "state of the soul" of the GDR population.

This sense of the politically attainable pervades all passages of the book that are concerned with Germany policy. Boelling writes: "Concessions damaging the stability of the GDR cannot be obtained by new billions of credits either. Honecker and the Politburo decide themselves what they consider necessary in the way of delimitation toward the Federal Republic and what they consider possible in the way of liberal behavior in dealing with their own citizens and with a government in Bonn." The principle of quid pro quo, he says, does not yield much as far as practical politics are concerned because "if we are serious about belonging together as a nation, we will always have to come across with more than what the other side is prepared to give. One can call that our bribability. It is not dishonorable." German politics will have to move within this framework in the foreseeable future.

On the other hand Boelling definitely does not regard conditions in the divided country as static. Not even General Secretary Honecker believes that there will be no movement in central Europe, that--as precisely the proponents of a progressive Germany policy think--Germany will remain perpetually divided. Not long ago--disconcerting his corps of officials and the then Soviet ambassador Abrasimov--Honecker described reunification, if under socialist auspices, as the historical prospect.

About Politburo member Hermann Axen, who he says can "hardly" be won over "as an ally" for an active Germany policy, Boelling writes: "Axen too knows that the time of rival alliance systems polarizing the European states may end even before the conclusion of this century. Considering how familiar he is with history, it cannot have escaped his notice that the interests of the big powers are changeable." Chances are that in saying so Boelling reflects not least his own ideas, which are rather unusual hereabouts, where a cementing of the present state of affairs is taken for granted. At any rate, such long-term reflections mirror greater historical understanding than do short-term Germany policy concepts which really cannot be realized.

Boelling gives a rather favorable portrayal of SED general secretary Honecker and also of his closest Germany policy advisers--the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, Foreign Ministry department head Karl Seidel and Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, state secretary in the Ministry for Foreign trade. It is a good

thing that such people exist, Boelling says. "In a single brief conversation, they cause more movement than officials of the Foreign Ministry do during a long conference." Boelling has little use for the majority of state and party officials, whose ideological rigidity and consistent claims to be right, inhibitions and fears of being touched make him shudder. The special relationship between the two German states, which the small-scale functionaries deny so stubbornly, is illustrated most clearly by the special interest of the general secretary, by his attempt to complement the policy of delimitation by a policy of making close contact.

In Boelling's book, Erich Honecker appears as a "man of feeling" who would like to be popular, who wants to do something for the working class (which he himself comes from), who occasionally will reveal his own handwriting and has the imagination needed for that, who is friendly toward his visitors and in whose philosophy of life (and this is the only resemblance with his predecessor, Ulbricht) duty and industriousness, diligence and neatness occupy an important place. This, or something like it, has also been the impression of other visitors from the West. But Boelling also realizes that "the man from Wiebelskirchen is not one who hesitates when it is a question of preserving the ruling power." Though, Boelling says, Honecker experiences almost daily the conflict between party reasoning and the wishes of the citizens, he generally decides it in favor of the ruling power. But "despite all the rigor which unquestionably is always at his disposal," he also "seeks to avoid polarizations and confrontations."

Boelling describes how Honecker, during a discussion about raising the compulsory exchange [of deutsche marks for visitors], tried to signal in an off-the-cuff remark that he was not finding it easy to exercise a moderating influence on the "hardliners" in the Politburo. "This," he says, "as so often, was a combination of tactics and truth." According to Boelling, distinguishing between hawks and doves hardly does justice to reality, "but presumably the general secretary finds it helpful for the West to imagine the situation that way and to see him personally as the honest broker."

This ability to differentiate, which is not exactly common in inner-German affairs, is what makes Boelling's book so solid and realistic. It also makes it clear that Boelling's performance as Bonn's representative in East Berlin was better than the reputation spread by his adversaries in the East and West. When he went to East Berlin as permanent representative, Boelling set himself the task of contributing to mutual understanding and of making Germany policy more predictable. It was not his intention to draft new concepts. No doubt he fulfilled this task, and his book does so too. It is not an indiscreet report from behind the scenes of GDR power; instead it provides insight into hierarchies, structures and people in action, though less into the population, the man in the street, whom Guenther Gaus portrays so lovingly. And the book is readable to boot.

8790

CSO: 2300/46

INNER-GERMAN ATHLETIC CONTACTS IMPROVED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Oct 83 p 20

[Article by Herbert Fischer, datelined Belgrade: "Talks Offer Hope for an End to the German-German Ice Age"]

[Text] It was GDR sport boss Manfred Ewald who broke the ice. After the first round of the debate and the differing opinions of the double Germans, conflicting as sharply once again as usual, this time on the theme of rocket armaments in Europe, the man from East Berlin took the trouble to go to the West Germans sitting one row nearer the front. That was only the beginning: at none of the five previous European Sports Conferences [ESC] have Germans from the East and Germans from the West had more to say to one another than in the last few days in Belgrade--on as well as off the agenda.

The two highest sports leaders in Germany, Ewald of the DTSB (German Gymnastics and Sports Association) of the GDR and Weyer of the DSB (German Sports Association) of the Federal Republic and West Berlin, had not met for more than 3 years. The last time was in Spring 1980, during the approach to the boycott decision about the Moscow Summer Games, when Ewald during that memorable discussion in the garden of Weyer's estate in Hagen promised far-reaching concessions on German-German sports traffic as a "reward" for West German participation in the Olympics--in vain, of course. The GDR reacted with the cancellation of a series of meets on the mutual sports calendar; that had been followed by Weyer's staying away from the ESC in Warsaw in December and his refusal (also because of sickness) of the invitation to the gymnastic and sports meet of the GDR this summer in Leipzig. And the annual calendar discussions of the two German sports organizations have meanwhile sunk to a routine matter on the level of the technocrats.

Willi Weyer took the radio silence between the two German states last year as an occasion to point out this problem to the acting director for physical culture and sports of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Ivonin, during the latter's visit to the Federal Republic; but at last the DSB president reacted only with a mixture of resignation and defiance. If Mr Ewald wanted something from him, he should come forward: he, Weyer, would at any rate not run after Ewald. And if the German Sport Association should wish that, it would have to look for another president.

Belgrade, now, the Sports Conference in the capital of the bloc-neutral Yugoslavia, may become a positive halfway mark in German-German sports, where--in obvious contrast to politics, economics, and culture--there has been absolutely no movement for a long time. If this comes about, it is also the credit of the DSB chief: without glossing over differences, he made himself a comrade in arms of the GDR delegation when the latter criticized for instance "increasing mercantilization" in top competitive sports or "discriminatory" contents of the questionnaire of the American authorities distributing visas.

But above all it was the cooperation of the German functionaries from East and West that helped the Conference out of a difficult phase of its crisis and at last to a respectable success. On one hand this is the matter of the future course of the ESC. As a clear refusal of the incorporation proposed by the West German side into ANOS (International Confederation of National Parent Organizations), the GDR sports president had ruled out "any subordination, of whatever nature" of the ESC to "any other international body." In the closing document, however, Weyer's conception turns up again, according to which the existing international structures are "not adequate for the further development of modern sport." The fact that agreement was reached among all 26 participating countries about further steps to be taken, is for DSB General Secretary Gieseler "partly the result of the German-German accommodation."

The other point had to do with the topic of armament policy, which the GDR had brought into the Belgrade debate. The delegation of the DSB was just as prepared for the one-sided condemnation of the United States as for the demand of the East Berlin sports leadership to set this condemnation firmly into the final communique. Convincing the GDR that it shouldn't try to get through anything it would not accept from others turned out according to reports to be a hard job.

The breakthrough (to the formulation in the final text: "...the countries participating in the ESC insist on the readiness of those politically responsible in all countries to come to an agreement.") succeeded in a four-way tete-a-tete at the fringe of the dinner given by a great German sports-writing-producer. At this improvised inner-German sports summit with Manfred Ewald and Professor Guenter Erbach, the state secretary for physical culture and sports, on one side, and Willi Weyer and Karlheinz Gieseler on the other, an exchange of opinions about topical problems arose.

DSB's question to Ewald, whether he saw any point at present in a meeting on the highest level, got a reticent answer rather than a refusal. The DTSB president, who is also head of the National Olympic Committee of the GDR, considered that there would have to be concrete results, and for those he scarcely saw possibilities at this point in time. That was a reference to the current Geneva negotiations, whose result will also come through onto the question of sports traffic. Unfortunately the discussions for the German-German sports calendar for 1984 fall precisely into this phase between hope and anxiety.

The German Sports Association, which would be host for a next meet with the DTSB, also proposed to fix top-level talks more often and apart from any special occasion. Thereby on one hand the great expectations which are connected with unusual events would be defused, and on the other a regular exchange of opinions, perhaps even an accommodation, would be useful to both sides in a sports world which is ever more saturated with international conferences.

The West German sports leadership took a step in Belgrade toward the difficult partner from the other Germany. Behind it is the hope of rebuilding confidence and ending the ice age in German-German sports. After all, a disengagement of the essentially uncomplicated sport world from the general German-German normalization process would be illogical.

Sports has to help itself however, and intends to. An expansion of inner-German sports for instance as a consequence of a prior financial shot in the arm from Bonn to East Berlin: for that, sport is too little weighty in the competition with the other multifarious humane measures which can still be imagined in Germany.

12428

CSO: 2300/29

BRIEFS

CZINEGE FROM BERLIN--Budapest, 20 Oct (MTI)--Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian defence minister, Thursday night returned from Berlin where he attended the extraordinary session of the Defence Ministerial Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. [Text] [LD211228 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 21 Oct 83]

PCE, BORNAU IN BUDAPEST--At the MSZMP Central Committee's invitation, Leonor Bornau, member of the [PCE--Spanish Communist Party] Central Committee and coordinator of the International Committee, visited Hungary 27-30 September. MSZMP Secretary Matyas Szuros received the PCE representative, with whom International Department Deputy Chief Laszlo Kovacs also held extensive talks. During the meetings, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, information was exchanged on the situations in Hungary and Spain. The participants also examined the cooperation between the two parties and expressed their desire to develop and strengthen it. [Text] [PM200947 Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 7013 Oct 83 p 37]

UK'S CARRINGTON RECEIVED--Budapest, 9 Oct (MTI)--Lord Carrington, President of General Electric Company and former British foreign secretary, conducted business talks in Hungary, October 17-19. Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress have met him. [Text] [LD191848 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 19 Oct 83]

NEW ENVOY TO GUINEA--Budapest, 17 Oct (MTI)--Raymond Toth, Hungary's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited in the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, who is soon to leave for his station, has paid calls on Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Janos Peter, president of the National Assembly. [Text] [LD172300 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 17 Oct 83]

TETENYI VISITS USSR--Budapest, 15 Oct (MTI)--Pal Tetenyi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and head of the CC Department of Science, Public Education and Culture, visited the Soviet Union October 13-15 on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He met Mikhail Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and held talks with Vasilij Shauro, alternate member of the CC, head of

the CC Department of Culture, and Vadim Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the CC Department of Science and Public Education, on the two parties' cultural, public educational and science policy and topical issues of inter-party cooperation. [Text] [LD152136 Budapest MTI in English 1731 GMT 15 Oct 83]

CSO: 2500/59

LAW CONCERNING INTERIOR MINISTRY CLARIFIED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 37, 10 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Hoc]

[Text] On 14 July 1983 the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] passed a bill on the office of the minister of internal affairs. It is worthwhile to note that the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] had been one of the three ministries (others being the Ministries of Justice and Agriculture), whose authorities were not regulated by bills. In order to present the basic solutions of the said bill, it is necessary to discuss briefly the origins of the ministry, which fulfills important sociopolitical functions.

In the spring of 1944 at the initiative of the chairman of the Central Bureau of Polish Communists in the USSR and with the approval of the Soviet authorities, a special training school for the future employees of the security organs was organized at the National Commissariat of Internal Affairs Training Center; 217 officers and soldiers of the 1st Polish Army were selected for the training. The other basic center, preparing the cadres for the future security apparatus, was the People's Army [AL], which had a separate security branch.

On 21 July 1944 the People's National Council [KRN] created the Polish Committee for National Liberation [PKWN], which included among its members the head of the public security office. The task of that office was to protect the people's authority, the bases of the system of people's democracy, and peace, order, and public security on Poland's liberated territories.

Then, 5 days later, PKWN passed two important decrees: the first, about the abolishment of the State Police, and the second, about the establishment of the Citizens' Militia [MO]. The latter, however, was not published after being approved by KRN on 15 August 1944, and thus it did not acquire the power of the law. Therefore, it was necessary to change the concept of the militia's organizational status.

The decree on MO was finally passed on 7 October 1944 and published in the DZIENNIK USTAW. According to the law, MO became a public and legal formation within the public security office. Its tasks were: to protect

the public security, peace, and order; to investigate and fight crime; and to perform functions, entrusted to MO by the administrative authorities, courts, and the Prosecutor's Office within the framework defined by law.

The bill passed on 31 December 1944 transformed the office of public security into the Ministry of Public Security [MBP].

On 20 July 1954 two other decrees were issued: on the service in the organs of public security and on MO. The said decrees disregarded, among others, the relationship between the organs of security and public order on the one hand, and the people's councils on the other. This precipitated a gradual loosening of ties between the said organs and the people's councils.

The internal and external situation of the PRL in the mid-1950's significantly affected the substance and the scope of the tasks as well as the methods of work of the security organs [BP]. It also led to a series of changes in the structural-legal situation of BP. Consequently, on 7 December 1954, the decree on the main organs of state administration with regard to internal affairs and public security abolished MBP and replaced it with two separate organs: the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and the Committee for Public Security of the Council of Ministers; additionally, MO was removed from the public security organs and transferred to the jurisdiction of the minister of internal affairs.

As a result of the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee, aiming at deepening the democratization processes of social life, the errors and abuses in the work of the organs of public security were subjected to critical evaluation. This led to another reorganization of the organs of public security. On 13 November 1956 the Sejm passed a bill on the change in the organization of the main organs of state administration with regard to public security. It abolished the Committee for Public Security and transferred jurisdiction over matters regarding the protection of the political system and the state interests against enemy activities to the minister of internal affairs. Consequently, the public security apparatus (henceforth called Security Service [SB]) was incorporated into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the MO Voivodship and County Commands.

As a result of the said reorganization, the management of the state order and public security as well as its internal affairs was entrusted to one organ of the state administration, namely, the minister of internal affairs.

In the recent bill--of 14 July 1983--the minister of internal affairs was designated as the supreme organ of state administration in the area of state security and public order protection as well as of protection against unlawful attempts on human life and health, and the material and cultural resources of the society. The scope of activity of the head of the said ministry was very precisely defined. Nevertheless, due to the variety of problems he is responsible for and their special character, as well as

to the fact that his tasks are performed by means of subordinate organs, which have considerable autonomy, the said bill differs from other typical bills on the office of minister. The detailed scope of MSW activities will be defined in a special order of the Council of Ministers which will also grant the necessary organizational status to that ministry.

Article 4 states that MSW organizes and supervises the perfection of methods and forms of intelligence, preventive, and investigative activities in order to combat crimes and felonies as well as other acts and phenomena, endangering state security and public order.

The bill offers an innovative solution with regard to legal separation of SB and definition of its authority (Art. 5), and at the same time preserves the differing authority of SB and MO officers in conformity with different tasks performed by both services.

Article 5 specifies the new organizational concept for the provincial organs of the ministry based on the establishment (it has been done already) of chiefs of the voivodship, regional, city, and city district offices of internal affairs who will have jurisdiction over matters, which are in the domain of SB, MO and MO precinct and post commanders. In order to investigate, prevent, and discover crimes and felonies as well as other acts, aimed at the state security or public order, the SB and MO officers perform operational-intelligence, inquest-investigative, and administrative-legal functions. The SB officers were given authority within the framework of preparatory inquest as defined by the Penal Code (Art. 6, Item 3).

Article 7 specifies in detail the means to execute the tasks of the MSW organs including the right to detain persons who violate or act against public order and security; to conduct personal searches and check luggage as well as to search cargo at ports, railroad stations, and at the air, land, railroad, and water communication centers in clearly defined situations, which ought to contribute to more effective combatting of acts of terrorism, particularly hijacking.

The bill also defines the bases for using the means of direct coercion, because until now the ability to use them was based on legal right of general nature which were subsequently more precisely defined in legal acts at a lower level and yet kept unpublished (with the exception of the regulations for using firearms).

For example, Article 10 precisely defines situations when due to endangered security or disturbed order the minister of internal affairs may use special MO riot units or subunits. Furthermore, Article 11 defines situations when the units of the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia [ORMO] or of the Citizens' Militia Reserve Units [ROMO] may be used, but the specific regulations in that area will be contained in a special order of the Council of Ministers.

SB and MO officers in an emergency have the right to use vehicles and other property of the units of socialized economy, state institutions, and ordinary citizens if it is necessary for the performance of their duties, saving human life, or preventing great material loss (Article 12), but the particulars will be specified in the order of the minister of internal affairs. Citizens have the right to file claims against the minister of internal affairs and organs under his jurisdiction (Article 13) based on separate regulations, if they suffered personal or material harm, or loss of a close relative as a result of unlawful use of the means of direct coercion, including the use of firearms. They also have the right to file claims against MSW officers.

Article 14 formulates an important right, which ought not to be abused, because it concerns the authority of the minister of internal affairs--upon consultation with the Prosecutor General of the PRL (correction added by the Sejm commission)--to order the use of technical means to preserve traces and evidence in order to prevent the danger of a crime being committed against the bases of the political system, security, or defense of the PRL as well as against a human life. The Council of Ministers is entrusted with the task of specifying the technical means to be used and the principles of their use. It has not been decided in what legal form the said particulars are supposed to be formulated by the Council of Ministers.

In their struggle with crime and in activities protecting order as well as security of the state and its citizens the organs of the ministry of internal affairs count on help and cooperation of other state organizational units, cooperatives as well as civic organizations and citizens (Articles 15, 17, 18).

Chiefs and commanders report on and inform about the state of the public order at the sessions of people's councils by the order of the people's councils or their organs. These reports and information do not cover methods and means used to combat crime as well as state secrets and confidential information (Article 16).

According to Article 19, the minister of internal affairs is in charge of organizing cooperation of organs of state administration, state organizational units as well as or organs under his jurisdiction with social organizations with regard to protection of state security and public order. An important task is to execute nine legal authorizations; however, the bill does not contain intermediate regulations, which makes it difficult to offer proper interpretation.

8609

CSO: 2600/72

AIR DEFENSE COMMANDERS DISCUSS ACTIVITIES, ORGANIZATION, EFFICIENCY

National Air Defense Commander

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 37, 11 Sep 83 pp 3, 21

[Interview with Gen Div Longin Lozowicki, Commander of the National Air Defense Forces, by Zbigniew Kozakiewicz: "A Shield Over Poland"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "23 percent of the targets on the distant approaches," we hear the report from the loudspeaker during the time of entering the commander's office, "the rest before reaching the shoreline..."

"Good," says General Lazowicki into the microphone, "what else do you have?"

"I report, Citizen General, that we shall finish our training in half an hour."

"Thank you!"

It was at this time then that we exchanged greetings with the general, who emerges from behind the desk. Staszek Syndoman clicks off a series of photographs, the general pushes himself away from him.

"But we did not arrange for posing, but only for a discussion about the National Air Defense Forces..."

However, this had no application to Syndoman, he does what he wants.

"Before we pick up on those matters that the report from the loudspeaker mentioned," I joined in the conversation, "we will ask for a few words on your personal wartime recollections, Citizen General."

"It's old history," the general says, waving his hands, "what is important is what we have today, the combat readiness of the troops..."

"You mean speaking on the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army with a frontline soldier and by-passing his war experiences...?"

"War experiences..." the general repeats, and thinks for a moment. "Of course, 40 years have passed, and at times it seems as though it were yesterday."

[Question] But didn't you go with the First Division, Comrade General?

[Answer] No, no, I did not get to do that. I took part in the self-defense of the Polish populace in Volyn. The changes...--well known history. Part of my family perished there, as did my closest friends, but 25,000 people were rescued. This was also during 1943; I was 17 at that time.

[Question] And then what?

[Answer] Well, what more? Like thousands of Poles from those territories, I ended up in a formation center in Sumy, we joined the Polish Army with great enthusiasm... And then? I was sent to Officer's Training School in Ryazan. I completed it in October 1944, and already on 22 November, with the rank of second lieutenant, as assistant commander of a heavy machine gun company of the 37th Infantry Regiment, I took part in the parade in Lublin. Then, there was the front...

[Question] What experience as a soldier stands out most prominently in your mind?

[Answer] Well, this. Before we got to the Neisse, there was a march of many hundreds of kilometers. With full equipment, with weapons, in -20°C cold and in slush... At that time, you could even feel the weight of your buttons. But we went into battle with willingness and confidence, with determination that this was the way it had to be. In the Lublin area, we saw the initiation of agricultural reform--this was the really new Poland, for which we went off to fight on the front. What a telling thing this was!

[Question] What about the front?

[Answer] I well remember relieving Soviet detachments on the Neisse. How much help they gave us, what sincere concern... Then the artillery preparation and the Neisse. Ice-cold water--we forced our crossing on the means at hand--burning tanks, bursts of mines... Always forward, from shelter to shelter, a leap, a leap forward... I was wounded at Daubitz. On 8 May, I escaped from the hospital, there was an opportunity, because they had brought the wounded from my regiment. We went to Czech Prague, and fought until 11 May... of my company, which had amounted to 702 persons, only 202 were left.

[Question] Did your war experiences have any influence on your choice of a lifetime calling?

[Answer] Yes, without a doubt. For my whole generation, armed struggle, struggle with an invader meant a struggle for survival. In the literal meaning of the word. My deep understanding of the need for building up and strengthening

the armed forces of the nation stem from this... But the experiences of those years is not limited to this truth. What I experienced in the forest and on the front taught me respect for ordinary people, who rushed to help us regardless of the circumstance. Faith and confidence in my colleagues, my comrades-in-arms. This was also a school of internal discipline, of independent action, of responsibility, and of strength against hardships... And also a school of correct organization, effective action.

[Question] From the trenches on the Neisse to the position of Commander of the National Air Defense Forces is a long road.

[Answer] I have passed through many levels of command, I have carried out various command and staff functions, and also in the political apparatus of the army--in spite of the fact that, strictly speaking, officially, I was a line officer. During the time of my service in the General Staff, I encountered the problems of air defense in their broadest scope, and I began to become more and more intensely interested in them. In 1968, I began serving in the National Air Defense Forces.

[Question] May we go back for a moment to the years when the creation of air defense began?

[Answer] The lineage of our forces has to be traced from the war years. At that time, there were antiaircraft artillery divisions, independent fighter plane regiments, and an air observation battalion. After the war, a new air defense structure emerged, and, among other things, an air observation post network was developed, then the radiotechnical troops came into being... The more the air attack weapons were developed, the more necessary it became to improve air defense. The invention of the sword was matched by the invention of the shield--even in this case, the same principle applied. Since in every armed conflict air attack weapons play a significant role--to say nothing about a decisive role frequently--air defense must in no case be overestimated. For it to be proper and capable of neutralizing the threat of air attack, it had to maintain a posture reflecting modern requirements--the National Air Defense Forces became an independent type of armed forces.

[Question] The National Air Defense Forces have radiotechnical units, fighter aircraft, rocket and gunnery artillery within their composition--to say nothing of other things. Their specifics of action are different. How can they be best characterized?

[Answer] The nature of the action of our forces is determined to a significant degree by the development of modern air attack weapons. The most general and briefest thing encompassing the modern air attack weapons is characterized by the great speed, the various ways they can be used, the operational capabilities, and capability of striking targets at great distances and with great destructive power. Aircraft achieve speeds of Mach 2 and higher, missiles are even faster; there is an entire family of winged missiles, such as the "cruise" type, maneuvering missiles, missiles carried by aircraft, missiles launched from the ground or from ships, which are preprogrammed and guided by computer, and can strike targets at very low altitudes. Our task is to neutralize attack from the air. This means that we cannot permit the enemy to

take us by surprise, we have to detect his weapons and identify them, and plan the methods of warfare. I noted that the attack weapons move at enormous speeds--well, to detect them and identify the target of the attack, air defense has very little time. However, this is just the beginning of the task. In order to repel an attack, it is necessary to inform the active weapons--pursuit aircraft and missile units, and this has to be done in time to give them the opportunity to close in on and destroy the attack weapons. Let us also remember that the enemy can destroy targets from great distances--therefore, it is necessary to destroy his attack weapons at the distant approaches. And this signifies a further reduction of the time for the effective action of air defense.

[Question] The effectiveness of the operation of the National Air Defense Forces is, as I understand it, dependent on the time that the forces have at their disposition from the time of detection of the attack weapons until the time of use of weapons for repelling them. Above all, a battle against time takes place...

[Answer] Yes, but that is not all. The effectiveness of operation is dependent upon many factors, and above all on the proper commanding and precision of operation. And this is governed by a high level of training. The enemy has available an entire array of deception and jamming means, for example, of the operations of radars and communications systems. It is necessary to know how to counteract this--so often we again have the need for high degree of training and skill.

[Question] What other factors come into play, in addition?

[Answer] This is something I really wanted to talk about. Training, skill, professional ability, this is one side of the coin--the other side, which is just as important, is high morale, a feeling of responsibility and of the importance of the missions being accomplished, mutual trust among comrades-in-arms, but also the thing that is always the bedrock of military strength--discipline. Frequently, we operate in scattered fashion, in isolation, at posts distant from one another--the commander has to be sure that every soldier, every specialist carries out his mission to the best of his ability, and those are the kinds of soldiers that we have.

Since we are speaking about the effectiveness of the operation of our forces, I have to note still another unusually vital factor--the supply of modern weapons, combat equipment, and auxiliary equipment. We have this kind of equipment. We have a reconnaissance system that makes it possible to detect air attack means--including those that produce very low echos of electromagnetic waves transmitted by radar. We have highly modern aircraft of increased range suited for repelling attack weapons under various situations and conditions--at very low altitudes, along the ground, at collision courses. We have missile systems that make possible the repelling of attack weapons at various altitudes, and also at long distances. And then we also have automated systems of warning, communicating, and commanding, which make possible the optimum use of active air defense weapons.

[Question] The particular character of the activity of the National Air Defense Command, its constant state of combat alert creates specific demands on the soldiers. Citizen General, would you be able to describe this problem set at least in brief?

[Answer] Of course, the demands upon our soldiers continue to grow greater. They stem from the necessity to provide effective defense against attack. The constant improvement of combat readiness, combat watches, exercises and training, the assurance of the operating conditions of a large quantity of modern equipment--which often means very complicated equipment--make the service in our forces difficult. The demands in the area of training, skill, and proper operation that we place before ourselves are very great. The need simply exists for this. I think that we can simplify them. A factor that facilitates things for us is that a considerable percentage of our forces is composed of career personnel, and three-quarters of this personnel has higher education. Many outstanding civilian specialists also work in our units, and we place high value on their work.

[Question] The high degree of technical readiness of the troops, their equipment with the latest and constantly modernized weapons and gear, the everyday use of computers, semiautomatic and automatic data processing systems--this guarantees combat readiness on the one hand, and on the other hand, it requires a constant perfection of service, the abilities of individual specialists and of entire groups. The National Air Defense Forces have their own experiences in this field, but in what degree do they also make use of the experiences of allied armies?

[Answer] We operate in a unified air defense system of the armies of the Warsaw Pact signatory countries. We cooperate daily. Not only do we conduct joint exercises and training, but every day, as I already stated, we regularly exchange experiences and conclusions, we jointly work out new methods of operation and new technical solutions. I would like to emphasize here the particular role of cooperation with the Soviet Army, and also the fact that we test our practical capabilities for repelling air attack weapons on Soviet proving grounds. I note also that as a result of the many years of cooperation between the soldiers of our fraternal armies, very firm personal contacts have been concluded. People know each other, they even visit one another, for whole years, entire families maintain comradely contracts.

[Question] At the conclusion of our discussion, there is still one question, Comrade General: In the specific type of armed forces that the National Air Defense Forces are, is there room for the romanticism of soldiering?

[Answer] Romanticism? I think that here it is necessary to speak about its specific dimension--encountering the latest technology, the constant search for new solutions. Isn't that interesting? Fills you with passion!

But there is also another romanticism--the dynamics of action and thought for oneself on how much depends upon my service, that I am one of the thousands of those who maintain a defensive shield over Poland. Service at distant stations and on airfields, the capability for immediate, effective action--all of this is the romanticism of today's soldier.

[Kozakiewicz] Thank you for the discussion, Citizen General!

Antiaircraft Defense Commander

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Gen Div Dr Tadeusz Obroniecki, Commander of the Antiaircraft Defense Forces: "A Proven System"]

[Text] An increase in efficiency and economy of management in connection with the improvement of organization and the rise in labor productivity is today a necessity and is an essential factor in the socio-economic progress of the country. It is of particular importance during the period of overcoming the crisis, for it serves to meet the needs of society when its funds are severely restricted, when materials and energy as well as output capabilities are limited. The resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress emphasizes this, and the economization and anti-inflation program, the realization of which will bring visible results on a nationwide scale, is a practical expression of this aim.

In our armed forces, the efficient and economical management and good organization of work do not have a fixed position and high social ranking. They function as a tested and constantly improved system. They serve for strengthening the combat potential and readiness of the troops. They are important factors in the process of training and educating soldiers, and in the evaluation of the efficiency of the operation of commands and staffs. Restraint in issuing resources, in harmony with regulations, and in fully justified needs for using them.

Ingrained Habit of All Soldiers

The Twelfth Central Conference on Efficient Management of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, which was held this year and at which the existing status and attainments in this area were analyzed, and the directions of further activities were outlined, was of particular importance for raising management efficiency and economy. The conclusions and proposals stemming from this conference are a good basis for working out comprehensive programs of efficiency and economy measures for the next few years. Their realization ought to assure higher quality and greater efficiency of operations at all command levels, and proper consumption of resources, materials, energy, manpower, and man-hours on hand.

In practice, this means the possibility of attaining the set social and defense goals with minimum expenditures of forces and materiel, and full utilization of existing military systems for the realization of tasks, with considerably restricted supply limits. It assures, moreover, the establishment of reserves and savings sources that are still existing, the utilization of which will create the possibility for adopting and realizing additional tasks and undertakings that serve for strengthening the combat readiness of the troops, and the improvement of social-living conditions of soldiers.

Such possibilities were also proven by the results of the conference on efficient and economical management conducted in the Antiaircraft Defense Forces Command of the Ministry of National Defense, with the participation of representatives of central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense, the military districts, the Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School, and the tactical large units and detachments of the Antiaircraft Defense. The realization of the economization undertakings in the antiaircraft defense forces was analyzed in the light of the conclusions of the Twelfth Central Conference for Efficient Management of the Armed Forces, and proposals were presented concerning the finding of additional capabilities in the realm of realizing operational and training missions.

Thanks to the execution of the planned efficiency-economization undertakings, and the implementation of innovators' solutions, savings of a combined value of several tens of millions of zlotys were achieved, with the simultaneous growth of effectiveness of training and the achievement of very good results of artillery and missile firings.

During the course of the conference, the fundamental directions of efficient management, improvement of work organization, and operational reliability were stressed, and the need for unifying the methods of evaluating results and principles of keeping records of savings was pointed out, along with the verification of norms and limits of resources earmarked for training.

It was determined that in further activity, the main emphasis ought to be concentrated on efficiency-economization undertakings leading directly to an increase in operational capability and combat readiness of the Antiaircraft Defense Forces. In addition, the need was emphasized for the universal application of already traditional methods of saving, and to make use during this period of the initiative and involvement of party and youth organizations and the military personnel.

Such methods include the more frequent application of simulation-training devices in the training process instead of combat equipment, the extension of the service life of technical resources by means of operating them properly, minimization of financial expenditures, the consumption of materials, and the kilometer range of trips, efficient use of working time, counteracting all incidents of waste and poor work organization at all service stations and in operational groups.

In the program of efficiency-raising and economization undertakings, all areas of activity and command levels of the Antiaircraft Defense Forces have been taken into full consideration, and the need was emphasized for the further development of an innovator's and inventor's movement, and also the continuation of the tasks in the area of general economic education of soldiers. The principle was adopted that efficient management ought to apply not only to current activities, but also to the future. It should then find expression, among other things, in the optimum developmental plans, which contain variants of solutions for the most advantageous "cost/effect" ratios. A real help in the working up of such plans should be systems analysis, which makes it possible to determine on a digital computer the optimum organizational and personnel strength structure, and the systems of armament

and technical equipment for the personnel and fiscal limits programmed for a 5-year plan. So, it will make it possible in practice to realize the basic principle of efficient management: the attainment of maximum results with given forces and materiel outlays.

The experiences of the Antiaircraft Forces Command of the Ministry of National Defense in the area of systems analysis application indicate that it is applicable also in the ongoing improvement of organizational and technical structures and in increasing the effectiveness of antiaircraft defense. It makes it possible to attain an additional growth in combat potential, not by means of increasing personnel levels and technical-combat equipment supplies, but through the creation of the optimum composition of forces and materiel for reconnaissance, command, and fire, and through raising their operational reliability in battle. This composition is achieved as a result of grouping into a single structure the forces and materiel with mutually complementary combat capabilities, capacities, and qualities.

A group organized in this way, with full synchronization of the realized tasks and reliable operation, is characterized by a greater combat potential than the sum of the potentials of its component elements, operating separately or in a non-optimal structure, and because of this, they can achieve higher effectiveness in battle. This additional growth in combat potential can be attained thanks to the utilization of the synergy phenomenon, which is based on the efficient selection of the composition of a group, and the rearrangement of the structure of the activity, of its elements, from individual to group, with a higher degree of synchronization of missions serving to achieve the designated goal.

The universal use of this phenomenon in efficient management can bring considerable advantages and become one of the sources for increasing the possibilities of action without bearing additional outlays (costs). In organization theory and also in systems analysis, this phenomenon is conventionally called the "2+2=5 effect."

In the program of efficiency raising and economization undertakings, we also feed in the minimization of expenditures connected with the realization of interrelated undertakings. The undertakings that are conducted in the same areas, or regions, or with the use of similar types of forces and materiel belong among these.

Experiences show that with the correlation of such undertakings in time and space and with the efficient utilization of available forces and materiel, outlays (costs) connected with carrying them out can be reduced by as much as one-half. This occurs because some missions in the interrelated undertakings are common or supplementary, and can be done with the use of these same forces and materiel. This leads to a situation in which we are in a position to achieve several set training goals with a one-time shouldering of outlays (costs) and in this way, we can attain higher management efficiency.

The analysis shows that an interrelationship occurs among the many training undertakings. As an example of this, we can consider the training of radar operators in detecting and tracking air targets and the execution of

educational-training flights by pilots. These undertakings are interrelated, since one governs the realization of the other, and in addition, they can be conducted at the same time and in a single region. As a result of the simultaneous conduct of both undertakings, we are able to attain two goals: raising the training status of radar operators and increasing the practical skills of pilots in the area of executing flights, with considerably reduced outlays of forces and materiel in comparison with the expenditures that would have to be borne in the case of realizing both of them separately.

Three undertakings encompassing the training of reconnaissance elements, command, and combat training firing are another example. If they are conducted separately, then the training goals planned will be attained with outlays of forces and materiel that are considerably higher than in a case of their parallel realization in a single region. The need occurs then for organizing, for each undertaking separately, the proper material-technical supplies, back-up, and a communications system, which involves an increase in expenditures. However, in the second case, these undertakings supplement one another, and thanks to this, the resources earmarked for their realization are smaller, whereas the effects are higher, since, aside from the partial goals, the basic goal--the coordination of the air defense system--is achieved.

From the examples given, it turns out that the initial stage of planning of all undertakings ought to be the study of their interrelationship and determining on this basis, the possibilities for reducing the resources necessary for carrying them out. This kind of procedure can bring considerable savings, even in the stage of planning undertakings, and therefore the costs of realizing them will be reduced.

The finding and utilization of reserves and sources of savings existing in efficient management is the service duty of every soldier. For this leads to a reduction in the differences between demands and the capabilities for satisfying them, and makes it possible to carry out the planned tasks on time, and to achieve the designated goals with the least possible outlay.

5808

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LAWS ON USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 10 Sep 83 pp 31, 32

[Article by Dr Stefan Alexandru Olariu, chief state inspector of the State Inspectorate for the Monitoring of Nuclear Activities: "What Urgent Needs Are Met by the Legislation on Nuclear Energy Adopted by Our Country?"]

[Text] The legislation adopted in Romania concerning the quality of nuclear facilities and installations, as well as the measures taken for compliance with the legal provisions and the governmental standards developed on this basis, were drafted at the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party. This unitary collection of provisions and measures is designed to ensure for the nuclear-facilities built in our country a level of quality and safety that corresponds to the highest exigencies and is comparable to the best achievements at the international level.

Construction of the nuclear-electric power plants constitutes one of the principal provisions of the "program-directive for energy research and development in the period 1981-1990 and the principal guidelines until the year 2000," adopted by the Twelfth RCP Congress. Drafted on the initiative, under the direct leadership, and with the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, this program-directive begins with the essential necessity of ensuring, during the course of the present decade, the energy independence of our country. In this sense, the program-directive provides for the growth of energy resources, the extension and improvement of the national electrical energy system, and the continued reduction of energy consumption in all areas of activity.

Through the adoption by the RCP National Conference in December 1982 of the program concerning the production of energy in the 1981-1985 five-year plan and the development of the national energy base until 1990, the "program-directive for energy research and development in the period 1981-1990 and the principal directions until the year 2000" has been supplemented and developed, with the result that, as early as 1983, more than 90 percent of primary energy consumption will be ensured with domestic sources, which creates the possibility of achieving even earlier the provisions of the Twelfth Congress which ensures the energy independence of the country, specifically by the end of the present five-year plan.

Referring to the development of modern energetics in our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in his report to the National Conference of the Party, pointed out that "decisive measures are necessary to complete, within the established time limits, the first nuclear-electric power plant as well as the entire program, so that in the next five-year plan electrical energy from the nuclear power plants will play an important role in ensuring the energy base of the country." Through extension of construction projects and the increase of installed power in the nuclear-electric power plants the completion of the nuclear energy development program will be accelerated. The installed power of the nuclear power plants is projected to be 4,500 megawatts by 1990, and should reach 9,600 megawatts by 1995.

Taking into account the major role nuclear energy will play in meeting the energy needs of the country, it is imperative that the nuclear-electric power plants be completed within the established deadlines and with the proper level of quality. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure the functioning of the power plants at the highest level of economic efficiency, and also to ensure the safe exploitation of these important investments in terms of the security of the installations and the protection of the personnel who work in these installations as well as of the population and the environment.

In the case of certain installations having the complexity of the nuclear-electric power plants, taking into account the particular technological processes which take place in them, it is imperative that the technical safety measures be increased from the high level of reliability, verified through the experience of using the same types of components in other similar installations. On the other hand, it is a question of the reliability of each component and of each product in turn, which will be ensured by the measures taken during their manufacture, by the checks and tests to which they are subjected by the supplier before delivery, through the measures taken at the time of installation, technical testing, and usage, as well as through the tests or periodic inspections during the period of usage. All of these form a unitary collection of measures, currently called the program for ensuring quality, which has as its goal exact compliance with functional and technological requirements during the period of design, procurement, manufacture, the completion of construction and installation projects, technological tests, and the usage and maintenance of the nuclear facilities. Any deviation will be detected promptly, remedied, and prevented in the future.

Keeping in mind that a very large number of institutes and centers for scientific research and technological engineering and design, production enterprises from many branches and sub-branches of the national economy, as well as construction and installation units and enterprises benefiting from investments, are participating in the completion of the nuclear-electric power plants, it was necessary to ensure the legal framework for the unitary introduction and application of the program for ensuring quality by all units participating in the construction and operation of the nuclear-electric power plants, regardless of their departmental affiliation. Law No. 6/1982, which deals with ensuring the quality of the nuclear units and

installations, is responsive to this concern and, together with Law No. 61/1974 concerning the conduct of nuclear activities within Romania, forms the legal framework for the completion of the nuclear-electric power plants and other nuclear units and installations under conditions of full nuclear security and increased economic efficiency.

The governmental nuclear security standards and the governmental standards for ensuring quality, which are detailed in the texts of these laws, specify particular requirements, in accordance with the nature of the nuclear installation and the type of activities. It is appropriate to point out that in the preparation of the governmental standards on nuclear security and ensuring quality, a number of factors were taken into consideration, including the experience gained internationally in recent decades in the construction and operation of nuclear-electric power plants, and experience with the regulations in effect in those countries which have developed nuclear energy programs, as well as with the regulations of the International Atomic Energy Agency, a specialized organization of the United Nations.

It should be mentioned that the deviations from the practice of strict adherence to safety standards have led, in some countries, to nuclear accidents, which, while they have not affected the health of the employees and the population, have caused certain similar facilities in which important funds have been invested to be put out of operation for long periods. Such accidents have also reduced the output of the power plant, with serious economic consequences, or have led to expenditures for supplementary operation. In contrast with such situations, all the nuclear-electric power plants, to which the principles and criteria of nuclear safety have been steadfastly applied, have exhibited operational safety and have proven themselves to be competitive with thermoelectric power plants using hydrocarbons or coal.

The legal requirements answered by the program for ensuring quality in completion of nuclear installations, are primarily aimed at the discipline of the entire activity, particularly adherence to technological discipline. It stems from the fact that the one who, through his activity, confers quality on the product is the worker, the one who carries out the processing operations, and not the one who performs quality control, who determines only if the product meets or does not meet the criteria for acceptance. Therefore, the worker must understand exactly what he is to do and how each operation is to be carried out. For his part, the quality controller must understand exactly what he is to do, which measuring device to use, and how to take measurements. Ultimately, to those personnel who supervise, within the enterprises, the compliance with the program for ensuring quality, falls the duty of verifying in the first place and of making certain that the worker who carries out the operation, as well as the quality controller who evaluates the result obtained, fulfill, in all cases, the above-mentioned conditions. Thus, there appears to be a three-step process of execution, control, and confirmation at each stage of activity, according to which the cycle is repeated at the next technological stage. It is a long chain, beginning with procurement, continuing with the receipt of the products, the production phases interspersed with quality control phases, and ending

with the tests and inspections of the final product, packing, packaging, and delivery, all of which is done in strict compliance with technological preparation.

A similar technological preparation for the manufacture of nuclear materials and equipments is extended to the entire chain, constituting a compulsory guide for the performance of all phases for each product. At the same time, the technological preparation respects all aspects of the requirements of product design, the contractual provisions, followed by specific technological preparation, and finally the compilation of a "film" of the entire chain from procurement to delivery, the so-called "plan for technical quality controls, inspections, and tests." Once this plan is approved, it is possible to begin carrying out the program, under the control of the enterprise department for ensuring quality, the beneficiary, and the appropriate state organizations.

The technical measures mentioned above are supplemented by organizational measures designed to ensure technological discipline, which include: the selection, by decision, of the operators and quality controllers, for various phases and operations, from among those who have the professional training necessary for the operation in question; specific familiarization training for all participants concerning the scope of the activity, written procedures which must be applied, and the tools, devices, and controls which will have to be used; recording the performance of all production operations and quality control, in their predetermined technological order; the marking or labeling for certain identification and the separate storage of products which have passed a certain control, of those which were not accepted, and of those which have been retained for clarification; the establishment of measures concerning rejected products (reworking, repair, or scrapping) only by persons so authorized; the reinspection of reworked or repaired products according to an operational plan developed by persons so authorized; recording of all infractions discovered and the prompt initiation of steps designed to prevent their repetition; and the verification of compliance with all legal provisions (concerning the metrological verification of measuring devices, the certification of inspecting and testing laboratories, the approval of welding methods, the certification of welders, etc.).

Consequently, the measures taken for compliance with technological discipline provide primarily that nothing will be done by chance by persons who do not have the necessary competence or professional training. Everything must be included within a unitary collection of measures, which will bestow full faith that the delivered product will perform properly for as long as it is installed, checked, and correctly operated, while the means used to achieve these objectives must be efficient.

Law No. 6/1982 on ensuring the quality of nuclear facilities and installations provides that, beginning with the identification of all materials used in the construction of the nuclear-electric power plants and continuing with all phases of equipment manufacture and with all technological operations in the course of construction, mounting, beginning operations, operation, and maintenance, everything involved in connection with the completion of a

nuclear-electric power plant is to be recorded in documents through which functional parameters and quality can be confirmed. These documents will be maintained for the entire life of the nuclear-electric power plant, and will constitute the identity document of the facility, offering basic data for any analysis concerning the operational performance of the power plant in its entirety or of its component parts.

The general principles outlined above will find their most efficient solution in each work place. For this reason, the program for ensuring quality must be regarded as a living thing, undergoing certain periodic improvements. This is perhaps one of the most important characteristics of the program. Its modification can and must be performed whenever it appears necessary to increase its efficiency. But any modification of the program must be made in an organized manner, with the agreement of those who approved it in its original form, and only after a thorough analysis of the efficiency of the original form, the deficiencies uncovered, and the proposed improvements.

The process of implementing the provisions of the new legislation which ensures the quality of nuclear facilities and installations is fully under way. The economic units which are participating in the nuclear program and which have begun applying the program for ensuring quality in design, in production, or in construction and installation, have achieved good results, which confirms the efficiency of the system and the correctness of the requirements contained in the present legislation. Thus, the groundwork is laid for the technical success of the first nuclear-electric power plant in our country, a power plant which is already under construction, and in the future nuclear facilities projected for completion as part of the development of a strong Romanian energy program.

12449

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MUHIC DENOUNCES BOOK QUESTIONING ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 83 pp 17-20

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "Prisoners of Natural Mind"]

[Text] The saying "Books have their own fate" can be applied quite rightly to the book "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam" [Party Pluralism or Monism] by Vojislav Kostunica and Kosta Cavoski. The work of these two authors who deal with the reconstruction of social movements and political system in Yugoslavia 1944-1949 does not provoke equanimity, whether in praising or challenging. The reviews that have already been published show that the book will have a much greater influence than its modest edition (1,000 copies) or the institution which published it (Center for Philosophy and Social Theory of the Social Science Institute in Belgrade, 1983) would warrant.

The reviews published so far have been historiographic, political and cultural, published in various publications and by authors of whom one cannot say by any means that they are all of the same orientation. Therefore one should pay more attention here to the methodological approach of the authors, following the generally well-known principle: "Tell me what methodology you have chosen, and I will tell you what results you have reached." The task will be somewhat more difficult because we are dealing with two authors who are not necessarily completely identical in their viewpoints. But although it would be difficult to find such identity in every detail, it does exist in their desire to reach the common goal--negation of the legitimacy of the present political system and setting the multiparty alternative. The authors regard this as so indisputable that the reader is left with just one question: How can the system exist at all, and what rights can it invoke for its existence? Provocation in the scientific and political regard is too large to escape the attention of the public. The question of legitimacy is the basic problem of every system, and if it is not solved, or if many doubts are cast on it (as lately the group of "radicals" gathered in the Center for Philosophy which published this book has been doing), then obviously something is wrong, either with the system itself or with its challengers.

Cavoski and Kostunica have opted for the first part of this alternative. It is the last chance, in their opinion, to give to the memory of young generations a picture of the wartime and the period immediately following it in a different interpretation--different from the official one--and to proclaim

the truth about the complete historical illegitimacy of the system, which from the very beginning contained the seed of the failure of the revolution itself. The theme of illegitimacy is by no means new. As a motive of challenge, it is present in the majority of theoreticians on the radical Right and Left, so that an informed observer of our intellectual life will be more interested in its elaboration than in its content, which is too well known to provoke a deeper curiosity. The interest aroused by this book is directed firstly to its methodology. It is not Marxist, and the awareness of this fact is a result not only of the authors' effort to convince us of it in almost every line, but also of the message of the work as a whole which obviously aims to prove that the Marxist approach in the sphere of political science became obsolete long ago.

Cavoski's and Kostunica's methodological alternative essentially rests on the concept of natural law. Their choice is not accidental. One part of our theoreticians experienced their parting with the ideology of SKJ as a parting with Marxism and turned to other teachings. The preferred ones among these have been anarchism, liberalism, enlightenment and the natural law philosophy. The most frequent, however, is their combination in which doctrinaire elements are combined into new compounds, depending on the initial choice of premises. Thus it has been possible to combine anarchism with liberalism, and it has been generally thought that the meaning of various doctrines (natural law and enlightenment) by no means should be limited only to the time in which they appeared (17th and 18th centuries).

The latter idea penetrated with particular insistence, and gradually came into the center of attention. Its meaning was sought in the parallelism between the 18th-century monarchic absolutism and the 20th-century "totalitarianism of the Bolshevik type" (our political system was included in the latter). The comparison was then extended to the position of thinkers (philosophers of that period and today's humanist intelligentsia). As the 18th-century Enlightenment thinkers spiritually prepared the bourgeois revolution, it is thought that their successors in the 20th century have the task to prepare the antibureaucratic revolution. As this preparation cannot be made from the position of the teaching that had inspired the revolution which erupted in the meantime and got its historical form as the socialist revolution, an urgent abandonment of Marxism and its total negation is being called for. One should return to natural law and illuminate with it the minds at the end of the 20th century. The assumption has been the renewal of natural-law philosophy and criticism of everything existing from its viewpoint. In our theoretical thought, this view has been elaborated with particular emotional artistry by Ljubomir Tadic. A small group of followers has gathered around him, refined but theoretically militant, and determined to persist on the chosen path. Notable among them is Kosta Cavoski.

The general public heard of Kosta Cavoski at the time of the constitutional debates at the beginning of the 1970's. He demanded then that the future Consitution should contain the provision about the "legal right of the people to revolt against the regime" if the political system does not implement the will of the people. This typically 18th century Enlightenment attitude has

not been embodied in any constitution in the world, so that we, in the case of adopting it, would have become a rather unusual constitutional avantgarde. Many people at that time attributed Cavoski's demand to his relative youth and did not take him seriously.

However, Cavoski continued his evolution in the direction of reception of natural-law philosophy and, at least so far, with regard to the interpretation of Yugoslav conditions, he ended with "Party Pluralism or Monism." In this development of Cavoski's (or rather his involution from Marxism toward a pre-Marxist philosophy) it is possible to recognize a reflection of the development of the natural law idea. This idea progressed from a general methodological position on natural mind and intellect as the regulator of all human relations to the liberal political philosophy of the 19th-century bourgeois world. It saw the climax of the political mind in the strict division of power, bourgeois parliamentarism and a multiparty system which is legitimized by electoral competition and constitution of the opposition as a correction to the political arbitrariness of the ruling party. If one adds to this the absolutization of bourgeois subjective political rights, the claim of natural-law philosophy to universal validity for its principles and a priori applicability in every political system will be more clear. They are regarded as transcendental preconditions of every empirical right (the ultimate basis on which it can exist at all).

It was said long ago about natural-law philosophy that it is as much communist as it is atemporal, and that this necessarily leads to the "ahistorical positivism" (demand for the maintenance and development of whatever exists if it is not contrary to reason). Thus its methodology in the 19th and 20th centuries came into conflict with those research orientations which study the possibility of the existence and development of a phenomenon from the standpoint of its historical conditions and not its concordance with the atemporally-conceived mind or reason. Natural-law abstract humanism was made relative and reduced to real sociological coordinates. Such was also essentially the historicomaterialist Marxist approach.

One cannot ask of Cavoski and Kostunica to follow Marxist methodology or to be Marxists. But one could expect from them the level of methodological correctness which should follow every declared search for truth. It seems, however, that they (and especially Cavoski) have little of that when they speak about KPJ in its struggle for the establishment of the political system (1944-1949). The polarization between KPJ, on the one hand, and numerous bourgeois parties within the Popular Front or outside of it, on the other, is presented in an almost perfect Manichean way. KPJ is described as the party of "revolutionary Machiavellianism." Its partners from the bourgeois parties (more exactly, from their remnants) are portrayed as the prisoners of natural mind, deprived of all the other prerogatives in the race for political legitimacy, except for the content of their program.

In the background of this whole conflict there is the Bolshevized conception of Yugoslav communists, impregnated by Stalinism with regard to their intentions (establishment of party dictatorship) as well as to their methodology (elimination of opponents, supposing that all means are allowed). It is not legitimized

by natural or historical law, but by force which the communists managed to institutionalize during the revolution and use against their former allies (apparent or real) in the Front. The political system was established by a peculiar kind of coup which, in a relatively short time, eliminated all the opposition. That is why its legitimacy will last as long as the force which stands behind it. The defeat of bourgeois liberalism, parliamentarism and party pluralism was in our historical space at the same time the defeat of the historical mind.

Instead of natural law, naked will triumphed. Communists succeeded in bringing Machiavellianism to perfection by means of an appropriate methodology.

While Cavoski and Kostunica cannot find a single kind word for communists, they show no trace of critical attitude with regard to bourgeois politicians. They are portrayed either as the last romanticists on our restless historical territory, or as visionaries who have exactly foreseen in detail what will happen in the most immediate future. Their methodology in the opinion of the two authors, was the personification of the bourgeois political refinement which was violently raped by communist brutality and lack of any feeling for law and order.

Bourgeois politicians were swallowed by the communist Leviathan without having had an opportunity to identify themselves before this cannibalistic act.

According to Cavoski and Kostunica, it was supposed to be essentially different. They hint that all the conditions during and after the war indicated that the Yugoslav political system had to constitute multiparty system, by means of an equal and fair-play competition of KPJ and bourgeois parties. The fact that it did not happen was due to the usurpation of power by the communists.

If things had happened according to the natural mind, embodied in liberalism, parliamentarianism and party pluralism, Yugoslavia would today be a model country established on the principles of natural law. In comparison with it, Bolshevism and Stalinism would seem only an ugly dream, and the communist party a specter with whom one could scare young generations.

Marx called the structure of this way of thinking "innocent phantasmagoria." Seduced by its pleasures, Cavoski and Kostunica made a construction, unreal by the very nature of the thought experiment which it would necessarily require in order to be verified ("What would have happened if..."). Their procedure can best be characterized as a methodological arbitrariness. On the real flow of historical development (the disintegration of the prewar Yugoslavia and simultaneous decomposition of the multiparty system) they imposed an imaginary flow (criteriology of natural law) without quoting a single valid reason for it.

To the historical right of KPJ as the only revolutionary and organized force at the time of World War II they opposed the natural law of a few bourgeois parties which could not significantly participate during the revolution because their core disintegrated or dispersed. Reviewers of this book have

already warned that this "right" of theirs was a political construction, and a result of international compromises of the time, and that it did not have a serious historical foundation. Could then KPJ, aware of its fictitiousness, actively legitimize and thus menace its own "historical right" in the name of an abstract and extremely dubious humanism?

It would be interesting if Cavoski and Kostunica indicated a single revolution whose protagonists, after making the revolution, let its further course to those who were all the time in the background, pleasantly dozing, or even in a hidden opposition, in order to come later with the demand of revindication of their natural rights.

Instead of seeing in this confusion of natural and historical law, insisted upon by the bourgeois parties and their foreign protectors, a real mystification of the first postwar period, Cavoski and Kostunica attributed this mystification to communists. Reproaching the communists for the fact that, taught by the experience of capitalist Yugoslavia, they were very cautious with their attempts to renew the multiparty system and eventually actively opposed it, the authors call them "revolutionary Machiavellianists." It seems that, according to them, the greatest fault of the communists was not to have accepted bourgeois politicians as polite gentlemen with morally and politically crystal-clear, unproblematic, ultimate intentions, or in other words, not to have believed their word. Bourgeois theoreticians themselves are much more sober than Cavoski and Kostunica in the appraisal of such crucial historical moments, as it can be seen in the following quotation from M. Merleau-Ponty's "Humanism and Terror": "Methodologically speaking, a communist refuses to trust others' word and to treat them like reasonable and free subjects. How could it be different if they, like him, are exposed to mystification? He wants to find out what they are and what role they play at the source of the class struggle and the conflict for power. Machiavelli is worth more than Kant. Engels said about Machiavelli that he is the first modern writer worth mentioning. Marx said about the 'History of Florence' that it is a master work. He regarded Machiavelli, together with Spinoza, Rousseau and Hegel discoverers of the laws guiding the operation of the state." (Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Humanisme et terreur," Paris, 1947, p 112). It sometimes seems that bourgeois thinkers least inclined to communism are methodologically better able to explain revolutionary breaks than domestic "radicals" who, blinded by hatred of communism, but deprived of precisely those bourgeois virtues which they invoke, are ready to use "publicist Machiavellianism" (M. Dekic). They use the lofty terminology of natural law and the Enlightenment and there is a simultaneous absence of any real historical category (class struggle, in the first place), although without the understanding of such categories not even bourgeois analysts undertake the study of such complex questions.

It is probably clearer by now that this book will stimulate interest mostly because of the authors' methodological approach. They have indeed made an effort to show that the legitimacy of the present political system in our country does not rest on the revolutionary content but on the usurpation of power which the communist made at the time of coming to power. Thus revolutionary and class

overthrow is not substantial in history. The basic factor must be sought in politics as a technique of ruling, which has been better mastered at the given crucial moment by the ruling group than by its opponents. The mind of communist enterprise dries up at this point.

The rule of its protagonists has legality (they themselves legalized with their own dictatorship), but not legitimacy (historical or ontological foundation). It will last as long as their practical political mind. But as the potential of this mind is limited, with them should also disappear the pathological historical deviations brought about by party monism.

One could interminably list all the logical consequences of Cavoski's and Kostunica's approach to the problem of party pluralism viz. monism. The common denominator is essential, and it consists in the message of the book. The book itself is a prolegomenon to the renewal of multiparty system in Yugoslavia. What would this system be like in its real historical and sociological content; would it at the moment of its establishment become typically nationalistic; would not the Right (and not only the Left) take advantage of it with equal skill; would its inauguration be an introduction to a civil war, etc., all this does not interest the authors of the book. They think that they discovered "pure truth" from the factual-historical standpoint. They may be right: the communist party was not willing to hand the power over to bourgeois parties and just after the revolution allow the risk of a bourgeois restoration and a new intensification of internal class and national conflict. But their truth is, if we want to speak of "purity," "purely ideological." They think (quoting Dobrica Cosic as their crown witness) that the multiparty system is appropriate to our conditions and that the continuation of the present political system can be nothing other than a vegetating of the "communist Machiavellianism." Cavoski and Kostunica start at the altitude of natural law and Enlightenment, and descend to the commonplace of the well-known ideology which was overcome long ago (in our historical environment). They have shown once more that abstract humanism must end in a specific ideological shelter and appear as a political bureaucrisy.

"Sour Grapes" [Insert by Natasa Kavoski]

Scientists, historians, political scientists, philosophers expressed diametrically opposed judgments of the book by V. Kostunica and Dr K. Kavoski last Tuesday in the Institute for Social Sciences in Belgrade. The full room, where more than 100 scholars sat almost in one another's lap, the sold-out edition, although the book appeared in the middle of the summer, all this is the best testimony to the atmosphere created by the book.

The meeting however was not attended by the renowned historians of the party, although they had been invited. Some of them were impeded by the "common cold." It is a pity; the talk would otherwise have been much more interesting.

On this occasion, too, it has been shown that open challenging of the SKJ and its legitimacy, and demands for opposition and political pluralism by a number of intellectuals are not an invention of party propagandists.

Almost all the 15 participants in the 4-hour-long debate at the Social Science Institute in Belgrade agreed on one thing only: that this is very interesting, authentic historical material.

The chairman of this round-table discussion, Dr Dragoljub Micunovic, said that the book is like a drama, that it records the dialogue between the communists and other parties in the Assembly after the war in an almost Beckettian way, that it speaks about two completely opposed worlds constantly wondering about each other.

Some of this mutual wondering seems to have continued in the discussions, but only Dr Velja Tomanovic--of the Social Science Institute in Belgrade--disputed some ideological messages of the book. Commenting on the judgment that this is a "book of revelation," and that the denial of its Marxist foundation is based, he said that the authors have not even tried to rely on Marxism, that the book is a revelation, but a negative one because its statements and selection of events clearly show that no revolution can "fare well," including the Yugoslav, that they are all bloody, that a lot of innocent people perish in them, that revolutionary heroes use violence and lawlessness, that all revolutions are movements without legitimacy and without a broad support of the people.

Neglecting broader social context and the time in which the events that are the subject of the book happened, following only the dialogues in the Assembly and party disputes, the authors portray the parliamentarians as charming, sophisticated, freedom-loving agents of history. They are facing the sly and fickle communists, who easily destroy other parties, advocate lawlessness and violence, said Dr Tomanovic.

The authors' identification of Marxism and Leninism with Stalinism is unacceptable. Their statement that the only creative period of our society was the one after the war and that it left a lasting imprint on all the postwar development, and that later on nothing has happened except for small repairs and changes of superficial norms is not true.

The basic theoretical limitation of the book, according to Dr Tomanovic, is the author's statement that the "mistakes of the Left" at the time led to the ideological sin of fleeing from any idea of any variant of political pluralism which automatically means the return to the old order, counterrevolution. In spite of the fact that Kardelj, as the authors state, developed his "pluralism of self-management interests" out of the same sociophilosophical model, Tomanovic interprets just this spot as the "blindness" of the authors for every further development of democracy outside the categories of bourgeois liberalism and the multiparty system.

Into the second group we put the largest number of scholars who participated in the discussion, who have expressed various objections to the authors, but who, like Sasa Milic, stated that "reading the book one does not get the impression that it is a defense of liberalism and political pluralism but a book that stimulates reflection on revolution and democracy."

Sharing the same thought, Dr Miladin Zivkovic stated that bourgeois liberalism cannot save the contemporary world, democracy or freedom, but that the development of integral self-management can do it. The book is a story about us, Zivkovic continued, but the authors neglected the limits of that period, limits of human understanding of the world, and no wonder that from the distance of 40 years they gave a different significance to some events.

Historian Nikola Popovic suggested that the second edition of the book could better define the subject of investigation, and he suggested that they should title it: "How the Yugoslav Revolution Won." He reproached the authors for having "overlooked the influence of the international factor on many postwar events, e.g., on the compromise with the bourgeois parties."

His colleague Boza Jaksic said: "This book rehabilitates the principle of objectivity, because it speaks about historical events neither from the standpoint of the victor nor from that of the vanquished. The authors spoke with the language of the social science, and this is why the book is a significant contribution to the Yugoslav culture of the dialogue." Jaksic probably also pointed to the weakest point of this book by saying that the authors have not paid sufficient attention to the people's liberation committees and in this way overlooked the broadness of the organizing of the people and the support which the KP had among the people.

Dr Sveta Stojanovic said that the book is a testimony which offers accurate historical images and shows how "Yugoslav ideology took a path from a self-confident to a bashful Bolshevism to support of Eurocommunism." "We need further reconstructions of this period," Stojanovic emphasized. "The book does not advocate multiparty system which is sour grapes to us, but it is a dialogue on the fate of democracy and freedom."

Identifying himself as a the man who would like "every Yugoslav street to have a Hyde Park and a realm of freedom," Dr Dusan Bilandzic said that the "dilemma: 'multiparty or monolithic system' was being solved already in the 1920s." He reproaches the authors for having "overlooked the fact that we made one of the most difficult social operations; we introduced social decentralized monism, with several thousand centers of political and economic power, and nobody knows where this leads...."

Dr Andrija Gams stated that Yugoslav society finds itself in a political, economic, moral and idea crisis, and added that this book represents a "refreshment" and imposes the theoretical discussion about the "compatibility of socialism and opposition." "Opposition is not opposed to Marxism," and without opposition Dr Gams does not see the possibility of escaping from the bulwark of irresponsibility, abuse of power, and fettering direct democracy and self-management.

Having said that the book is far from those who flatteringly and sycophantically spoke about our history, Dr Ljuba Tadic mentioned that one "can talk about the legitimacy of the revolution, a political revolution which compensated its illegality with reprisals on the guilty and the innocent, like Dragoljub Jovanovic

and Jasa Prodanovic." Speaking about the revolution in its tragic use of the people, a revolution which "eats its own children," Tadic called for reflection whether there is in such a policy a self-destructive urge, thanatos, satanization of politics? The book reveals something of all this, Tadic stated.

Dr Jagos Duretic said that this book attacks many historical errors and the sclerotic structure of our consciousness of the party as "being a personification of pure morality, far-sightedness and truthfulness with its leaders and leader first of all." The book also challenges the error about the incompatibility of political pluralism and socialist society," which is a consequence of sectarian politics in the international workers movement, hiding behind Marx with whom it has nothing in common. However, this is not essential to the book, Duretic thinks. "It shows that we, settling accounts with other parties have eliminated any pluralism of opinion in our society."

Having heard some discussions, and apologizing for not having read the book. Historian Dusan Zivkovic posed a question: "As a man who participated in the revolution, this evening I feel as if I should not have participated in it, that everything in it was wrong and bad. When I decided to join the revolution I sincerely believed that I was going into a just war for a better life of the working class and that our rule would be just. The fact that some people abused their power gives nobody the right to curtail my ideals. I agree that we are talking about the phenomenon of power and rule over the people, and about mistakes which we have made, but we must not neglect the positive side of the revolution."

One can hardly feel in these words of Dusan Zivkovic the "ideologically twisted" or spontaneous misunderstandings caused by this book. However, there is the question how to reconcile some of the judgments pronounced at this meeting with those by the authors, Dr Vojislav Kostunica and Dr Kosta Cavoski: "The statement that we advocate a multiparty system is malicious. We wanted to talk about some universal values and the spreading of freedom and democracy." This discussion at the Social Science Institute in Belgrade has given its dominant voices the taste of "sour grapes," offensive oppositionalism and aggressiveness toward the SKJ.

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DISCUSSION OF PROTESTS BY SLOVENIAN WRITERS SOCIETY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 83 pp 54-56

[Article by Bozana Rublek]

[Text] In April of this year the public was beginning to be informed on the 5-year work of the Commission for System and Programming on the creation of the so-called common program core, which was initiated by the proposal of the Permanent Commission of the Institute for the Improvement of Education at the federal level. The reaction to this information was varied; some circles reacted by silence which has been justified by the lack of information, while other circles reacted with loud (and too loud) reflections. Namely, we are dealing here with a radical intervention in the Yugoslav school system which intends to standardize school programs of the republics and provinces, from the preschool level to the university level. The programs with the new "core" should start being implemented next school year.

One of the most critical comments on this endeavor is certainly the protest letter of the Association of the Writers of Slovenia. It was read last Monday after a long open meeting that was attended by sociopolitical workers of Slovenia and many other interested persons. The letter was published on 22 September in DELO with the title "Protest Statement Unanimously Adopted by the Participants at the Meeting of the Association of Slovenian Writers." The text is as follows:

"The Association of Slovenian Writers is by its historical role and by the nature of its members' work closely connected with everything concerning language, national culture and the nation itself. That is why it felt it was its duty to discuss at a critical moment the issue of the so-called 'Common Program Elements of Activity in Education, Elementary Education and Middle Vocational Education in the SFRY.' If this proposal were accepted, it would completely change the content and educational goals of the present school program in SR Slovenia, which could be very harmful, in the long run, to the future of the development of the Slovenian people.

"With this aim we met (19 September 1983) at a special open meeting of members and thoroughly discussed the issues contained in the available basic data on this subject."

We have established:

1. That the stimulus for intrarepublican cooperation in this form was not a reflection of true need but that it was, first of all an agreement to the initiative that was born out of--in our opinion--the false conviction that this is necessary for the sake of greater unification of the country. The best proof of the uselessness of such agreements for Slovenia is the fact that the SRS Institute for Education, just at the time of the most hectic preparations of the proposals for the common program elements, but without any connection with it, announced this spring its new curriculum for elementary schools and the first 2 years of intermediate directed education, which is a result of positive experiences of our school system in the last 20 years.
2. We have also established that the original initiative has not remained within the limits of the accepted intrarepublical consultations, but that a great part of it was changed into requirements and regulations, which can be seen in the simple fact that the joint commission for development determined percentage points and other regulations.
3. We have further established that, by its conception, the draft follows centralist and unitarist trends and that it would be catastrophic for the education in the Slovenian national territory.
4. We have also established that the proposal has the explicit purpose of affecting laws that are exclusively in the sphere of competence of the republics and provinces. There are many attempts to use media in order to present the proposal of common program elements as an accomplished fact, with only some insignificant supplements necessary for the final solution.
5. We have noted a clear tendency to take this core only as the first step toward further centralization of education. This tendency, which was defeated by historical events long ago is quite clearly present in the text accompanying the proposal of the common program core. This is why the Association of Slovenian Writers states that all those who represented Slovenia in this process have shown insufficient attention and a lack of professional sensitivity. This raises the question of their political responsibility.

The proposal: For all these reasons the Association of Slovenian Writers asks of the republican committee for education, physical education and other competent institutions to:

1. Stop any further consultation and coordination of the still-unsolved issues in the preparation of the common program elements.
2. Put the proposals for all the areas of the common program elements in their presently available form to public discussion, and at the same time to a review and appraisal by competent professional commissions and to an interdisciplinary commission (composed by their representatives or others) which should give an appraisal of the entire proposal, and counsel competent bodies how and to what degree it may be necessary to improve existing Slovenian school plans, if this need is justified. The discussion has established that already in the present

volume and form, because of our own carelessness, the Slovenian language has been suppressed, especially in directed education, to the margin of second-rate subject, and maybe even beyond it. That is why it is necessary to think critically and responsibly about it again. The composition of the commission should be made accessible, in whatever form, to the general public, as it is required by the true political democracy.

3. With regard to poor experience in this first example of cooperation, which has been publicly expressed by Slovenian representatives, we demand that SR Slovenia should revoke her participation in the Permanent Conference of the Institute for the Advancement of Education. In this way, the Slovenian schooling system will avoid unnecessary pressures which have arisen as a consequence of their voluntary joining the above-mentioned agreement and will, at the same time, defend herself from possible future attempts at forceful trespassing into the exclusive republican rights on this territory.

4. The participants at the meeting have established that education and instruction at all levels in the decades after the liberation, with programs, textbooks and auxiliary literature, have made it possible to spread mutual knowledge of nations, nationalities and cultures in the spirit of AVNOJ and the principles of the Slovenian Liberation Front.

5. The Association of Slovenian Writers calls on the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia to continue sectional discussions as a permanent form of public exchange of opinion on the open question of education and establishes public supervision of them.

6. The Association of Slovenian Writers calls on other republican cultural and professional associations to discuss the above-mentioned issues and to proclaim their stand.

This declaration is in a way the result of the discussions in which Slovenian intellectuals have for several months engaged in periodicals about the meaning of a common program core at the present moment.

Thus, for example, Tone Partljic, president of the Association of Slovenian Writers, wrote in DELO in mid-August: "A battle is being waged for the ratio of the 'national' program and the program of common elements. Some republics are advocating the impossible ratio of 50:50. Slovenian delegates in the mysterious intrarepublican-provincial work group for the linguistic-artistic area advocate quite a different ratio, which favors the national program. We intended to talk about this at the famous May meeting of all the members of the association (more than 50 writers attended) with representatives of sociopolitical organizations, but we obviously had more problems then with the theme 'Writers are being detained, aren't they?' Writers are not indifferent to what students in our too-often reformed schools learn about the national literature and language. The 50:50 ratio between the national program and common elements is crushing for the Slovenians, although nobody doubts that our children and students must know Krleza, Andric, Cosic, viz. Gundulic, Drzic, Njegos, Vuk, etc. But not at the cost of the Slovenian language and Slovenian literature."

This text points out the basic problems as the Slovenians see them, and first of all the disagreement with statistical determination of representation of writers in the teaching of literature.

This "bargaining" about individual writers led to the decision of some members of the Slovenian commission to abandon further participation in the project because of, as they stated, pressure exerted on them in their work.

Janez Susnik, director of the Institute for Education of SR Slovenia, wrote in DELO on 15 September an article titled "Explanation of Program Cores" in which he said: "Our representatives opposed the demand that the teaching of literature should apply the principle of republican and provincial parities. This is why we maintain our stand that such a proposal of common program cores for the mother tongue and literature for elementary and middle schools in SR Slovenia cannot be accepted. Representatives of SR Slovenia maintained this stand also at the session of the intrarepublican-intraprovincial commission for the reform of education on 8 July of this year, and the commission decided to continue the coordination of common program elements for those areas in which unanimity has not been achieved (for mother tongue and literature, the language of the environment, self-management with the foundations of Marxism, geography and music).

The writer Rudi Seligo says the following about such a method: "The proposed core is not common but unique. The unity conceived in this way reduces the wealth of differences, and in the last analysis impoverishes the culture of most nations. In our economy, too, the alternative is a common, and not a unique space."

Writers, scholars and sociopolitical workers at their meeting last Monday clearly expressed in their discussions the thought that the linking between nations and nationalities has to be developed further, but on the basis of respecting their differences. The writer Ciril Zlobec thinks that the Slovenian language is a symbol of national identity, and not some "subject X" which would allow the discussion on the percentage points of representation of individual writers. This is why he says that the common program core is a way toward the "state education" and not toward a "knowledge that raises consciousness." The writer Janez Menart shares his opinion, and Franc Sali, member of the Presidium of the CK SK of Slovenia continued it in his reflections.

In the Saturday supplement to DELO on 17 September he said: "Zlobec is asking for knowledge that raises consciousness instead of state education. He is asking the same thing as does the policy of the Communist League to which he has contributed a lot, especially at the Eighth Congress, where he stated that awareness of the significance of culture has increased, but that we are still lagging behind in the development of a true cultural consciousness, because our knowledge and cultural awareness are still very low. It is a matter not only for schools or common program elements but for sociocultural policy in the widest sense of this word. Therefore it seems nonsensical to me to debate what should be there in greater quantity and what in lesser. The mother tongue is the mother tongue, that is all. There cannot be a little Chinese, a little of

...I don't know what; briefly there cannot be a greater or lesser confusion. The mother tongue is connected with its literature and the acquaintance with other literatures is necessary only insofar as it is required for the presentation and understanding of the development of our literature in wider literary and social development."

Dr Janez Rotar tried to give a brief review of textbooks at the meeting of the Association of Writers. In his opinion, Slovenian textbooks give the possibility of learning the literatures of other nations (literature of nationalities should be better represented); he has also reviewed Serbian and Croatian textbooks for literature, and thinks that Slovenian authors are properly represented.

Janez Susnik quotes in DELO the ratios between the Slovenian national literature and common literatures in Slovenian textbooks according to the present curriculum: "In elementary schools, out of 225 literary works 75.5 percent are Slovenian, 11.5 percent of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities, and 13 percent of world literature. If we take into account the number of authors present in the current curriculum and accept also the works from the proposed common program elements, the ratio would be like this: Slovenian literature 54.8 percent, literature of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities 41.7 percent, and world literature 3.5 percent."

Janez Menart in DELO of 1 September shows in a table the ratio of the present Slovenian language curriculum and the program with the "built-in" core. Here is his commentary: "It is clear that the new proposal completely destroys current Slovenian language curriculum. In order to have the other Yugoslav curricula accept altogether 15 texts by Slovenian authors in 12 years, the Slovenian program, which already contains 41 authors from other Yugoslav literatures, should accept further 111 and reduce the number of Slovenian texts (and where possible, the foreign ones, too). For example, according to the present Slovenian program for the third grade, there are two texts by foreign authors, 21 Slovenian authors, and 2 of other Yugoslav authors. The proposal of common cores foresees for the same grade 1 Slovenian author, 17 other Yugoslav authors and 2 foreign authors.

Janko Svetina comments the events about the common program cores on the title page of DELO of 20 September like this: "Yugoslavia is a unified state of self-management socialist republics and provinces, and this unity must be appropriately reflected in the curricula. We therefore accept the common core, insofar as it recognizes and takes into account national idiosyncrasies. We reject the pressures to form some parts of the cores in the way and in quantities which do not correspond to the self-management consultation of the professional, social and other factors, and which would do harm to the national curricula.

A part of the blame for the misunderstanding about the common program core can be attributed to the authorities that did not take care to provide good information, so that discussions were limited to narrow circles. The proposed contents did not penetrate sufficiently into wider professional circles. Precisely for this reason we have heard numerous oversensitive commentaries,

half-truths, attacks (but also justified reflections). This is a precious experience because it has strengthened the feeling of joint responsibility for the solution of our fundamental educational questions that go beyond schools."

Finally, a digression that may be superfluous, but you should read it anyway. I wanted to learn the Slovenian language in Zagreb. I went everywhere, but neither in schools nor at the university, nor outside these institutions is it possible to take a course in the Slovenian language; nobody offers it. The situation with the Macedonian language is probably the same.

Do common program elements in Croatia and Serbia foresee at least the optional learning of the Slovenian and Macedonian languages? It is not necessary to repeat that this is the best way to the understanding of other nations and to the community. Slovenian schools have for a long time had mandatory Serbo-Croatian language and literature, and this gives the possibility to follow and learn the development of other Yugoslav nations outside the school, too.

[First insert]

Reactions of many Slovenian writers and their Association to the Proposal of common curricula for the mother tongue and literature have called attention and commentaries of many public media. We are giving here a part of these reactions:

Borba: We are interested in the institution of public debate and in the possibility that, in spite of the fact that (according to the statement of the common editorial office in Zagreb, which coordinated the entire work on the "cores") the public debate in Slovenia was held in all the important scientific and pedagogical institutions and sociopolitical organizations, some samples of the proposal should have found its way to the Association of Slovenian Writers, too, or at least to some of its representatives in the Council for Education of the Republican conference of SSRN one of whose members is the Association of Writers).

In spite of this, the poet Janez Menart (as Borba reported on 10 September from DELO) states that the entire proposal is "anonymous" and that the "entire affair is covered by mystery."

The information which the joint editorial office in Zagreb sent to everybody (and so it reached Borba, too) says "that the following institutions participated in the public debate in Slovenia: universities in Ljubljana and Maribor, the Pedagogical Institute in Ljubljana, the Institute for Instruction of SR Slovenia, the Council for Education of the Presidium of the Republican Conference SSRN, the Marxist Center of the CK SK for Slovenia.

In spite of this, J. Menart states that he "got the impression that somebody, under some pressure, against his own will secretly agreed to something unclean, and that for this reason he secretly hoped to bring it to the end by wheeling and dealing and to present it as an accomplished fact with the sigh--everything has been agreed upon and we could not do otherwise. This is an exceptionally dangerous insinuation which, however, does not concern the Slovenian public only.

We do not want to represent anybody, including the organizers of the public debate in Slovenia (they will give the answer to this question to their public), but it must be said that Slovenian representatives gave a serious contribution to the work on the "cores" by opposing the majority of positions accepted in other federal units and not agreeing to many key ideas in the proposal on the cores! Everybody has been informed about these positions--why then has not the Slovenian public, except for these writers, also have been informed?

POLITIKA: Most briefly stated, the above-mentioned three Slovenian writers maintain that this unfortunate proposal, in preparation for 3 years, intends to push through the back door the curriculum deaf to national idiosyncrasies or, in other words, a curriculum at the service of daily politics.

All kinds of things can be attributed to this proposal, except, it seems, that it is an open attack on anybody's national identity, or that it is a "brew" cooked up in some evil kitchens.

POLITIKA EKSPRES: To make things even worse, the emotional statements imply that their dissatisfaction is the result of some unidentified mafia (they could have mentioned any nation and nationality in Yugoslavia, and nothing would have changed in such distorted thinking).

These writer-participants in the discussion should have known how the talks on the common elements of the teaching of literature were held, who were the representatives of all the republics and provinces, and what the procedure in general was like.

NIN: Why so many sharp arrows? It is said that the proposal of the common core is anonymous, that the "entire affair is covered by mystery," and that the whole thing has been concocted somewhere in the south.

Is it necessary to be reminded that the sense of the agreement is not a unitarist swindle or the trend toward unification and centralization, as it can be concluded from the statements of some Slovenian writers, but the fostering of the community by means of the minimum of common curriculum contents for all the students in the country? Is it necessary to stress again that we are dealing here with a minimum of common elements, and that it is the business of educational councils of republics and provinces to adapt and complete their programs according to their own discretion?

✓ [Second insert]

Consistence Is Important

Dr Mato Jergovic, director of the republican Institute for the Educational-Pedagogical Service of SR Croatia and participant in the work on the formation of common elements, in an interview published in DANAS (No 57), answered the question whether the degree of unity can be the same in various areas like this:

"There are specific features, which is particularly noticeable in language and literature. Besides the artistic and conceptual value, equality must be also present as a criterion for the common elements. Otherwise it could happen that nations with longer tradition and richer cultural heritage could suppress the others. Not all of them have a Krleza, Cankar or Andric.

"We will achieve equality if the representatives of nations and nationalities propose what they regard as the highest in their culture. But, what has happened? A lot has been offered, and the number of proposals for inclusion into the common core is huge.

"In the first stage, we included everything. In the second stage we must agree how to reduce the number of works that enter the area of literature, music and visual arts. In this job we must stick to the same principle as in the first stage of collecting. We must reduce all of them. It is an important problem and we must be consistent."

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